"AMERICA FIRST" EXPOSED: JOHN L. SPIVAK'S SECOND ARTICLE

NEW MASSES

FIFTEEN CENTS A COPY OCTOBER 7, 1941

WHAT IS "AMERICA FIRST" AFRAID OF?

Why did General Wood, its chairman, refuse to answer John L. Spivak's questions?

How Congressmen Give "America First" Free Mailing Rights

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NEW MASSES
VOLUME XLI OCTOBER 7 NUMBER 1

[redacted]
[redacted] Ohio

September 27, 1941

Dear New Masses:

This isn't a contribution. Let's not call it that. This is payment for services rendered. I consider the Spivak series on America First a first-class public service. Anybody would who could see them operating as they do in my home town. I listened to them on the street corner and I looked at the people standing in the crowd. I wish to heaven that I could put a copy of the magazine into the hands of everyone of them.

I knew what Lindbergh means, but this first article of Spivak's gives me a lot of data I can throw at these acquaintances of mine who don't. Is there any way you can get it out in hundreds of thousands of copies to the people mixed up about the best way of handling Hitler?

I'm a teacher and I've not got much of a budget for worthy causes. I sent you $10. in your campaign earlier this year. That was stretching pretty far for me, but I did it. I thought that would be all I could spare for the year, but this Spivak series convinced me otherwise. As I said, this isn't a gift it's a payment. I want to see more of the same stuff and. I'm paying for it. Is that okay with you? Enclosed is $5.

Cordially yours

C[redacted] W[redacted]

This is how one American feels about John L. Spivak's series and about NEW MASSES. We explained last week how the magazine must have $7,600 immediately to meet current bills. The creditors are pressing hard. Do you agree with us that NEW MASSES must live in order to reach the hundreds of thousands "mixed up about the best way of handling Hitler?" If you do, may we hear from you by return mail?

(Please turn to page 26)

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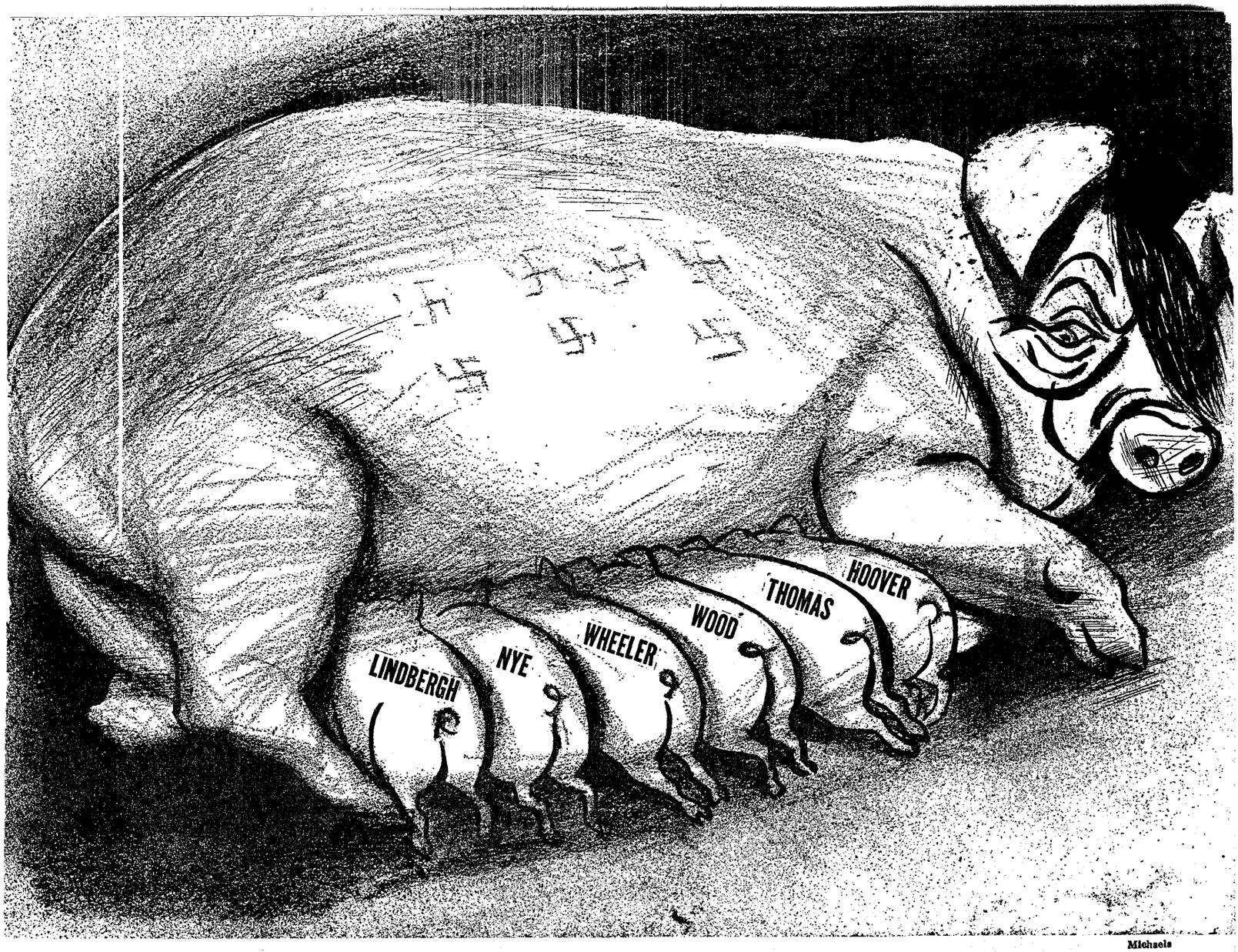

Michaels

WHAT IS "AMERICA FIRST" AFRAID OF?

Why did General Wood, the chairman, refuse to answer John L. Spivak's questions? Proof of the committee's practice of hiring anti-Semitic speakers. The organization's financial manipulations. Phony membership figures. John T. Flynn joins the "I don't know" club. How Nye and Wheeler give "America First" free mailing privileges.

THE America First Committee has expressed its approval of Charles A. Lindbergh's anti-Semitic speech at Des Moines, Iowa. Long before the Lindbergh speech my independent investigation convinced me that anti-Semitism is rife among the leaders of the America First Committee and that the organization has close connections with notorious anti-Semites and pro-Nazis. Two such unsavory gentlemen, Henry Ford and Avery Brundage, the man who insisted on holding the 1936 Olympics under Nazi auspices in Berlin, were on the original national committee of the America First Committee. In my first article I showed through admissions made to me by two America First leaders, William R. Castle, former Undersecretary of State in the Hoover administration, and Richard A. Moore, director of organization at the national office in Chicago, that Ford and Brundage had been dropped not because the organization is opposed to Jew-baiting, but because it wanted to avoid being stigmatized.

Nevertheless, behind the scenes close relations were maintained with anti-Semites and pro-fascists. I presented a photostatic copy of a letter written by R. Douglas Stuart, Jr., youthful national director of the America First Committee, to Merwin K. Hart, head of the New York State Economic Council. Hart was an active crusader for Franco and an associate of the anti-Semite and fascist, Rev. Gerald L. K. Smith. In the letter Stuart declined Hart's offer to start an America First chapter on the ground that the Economic Council was "labeled," but added, "It is imperative that we work together on these things." I also presented documentary evidence in the form of a friendly letter from Castle to Hart which proved that this former leading diplomat, who is a close adviser of both Lindbergh and Hoover, is himself anti-Semitic. I challenge Castle, Stuart, or the America First Committee to deny the authenticity of these documents.

I DECIDED to investigate further America

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First's connection with pro-Nazis and anti-Semites and encountered an organization called Women United, with headquarters at 11 W. 42d St., New York. I soon discovered that this was one of those "independent" organizations such as the American Liberty League was in the habit of pulling out of a hat. Both the defunct Liberty League and the very much alive America First Committee engaged in these ventures in order to keep themselves clear of open association with "labeled elements."

Women United was launched by several leading members of the New York chapter of the America First Committee. They decided to start it off with a bang by having a rally at Carnegie Hall. Mrs. Seth B. Milliken of 951 Madison Ave., New York, one of the committee members of the New York chapter and a moving spirit in Women United, advanced $1,500 to hire the hall. America First employees helped mail out Women United publicity for the meeting.

As soon as the hall was rented, Mrs. Gertrude B. Parker, executive secretary of what is virtually the women's auxiliary of America First, promptly got in touch with Rev. Edward Lodge Curran, Father Coughlin's chief apostle in the East. Curran has worked with such groups as the German-American Bund, the German-American Business League, the American Nationalists, and the Citizens' Protective League, headed by Kurt Mertig, one of the Bund's chief propagandists. Some of Women United's printing was turned over to the Paulist Press. It was in the Paulist Fathers' rectory at 413 W. 59th St., Manhattan, that Coughlin's storm troop Christian Front was secretly launched.

This is where Sen. Robert R. Reynolds, chairman of the all-important Senate Military Affairs Committee, steps into the picture. Reynolds, known as the tar-heel fuehrer, is an active opponent of President Roosevelt's anti-Hitler foreign policy. He is the founder of an anti-Semitic, fascist organization called the Vindicators, which publishes a magazine, the *American Vindicator*. There was a time when Reynolds' speeches in the Senate were frequently studded with lavish praise of Hitler and Mussolini, but since the outbreak of the war he has been more guarded.

Reynolds got in touch with Mrs. Parker and suggested she contact Robert M. Harriss of Harriss & Vose, New York Cotton Exchange Building. Harriss has for years been Father Coughlin's financial adviser. He handled the notorious silver purchases which Coughlin made with money collected to build a church. Mrs. Parker sent Harriss tickets to the Carnegie Hall meeting and on April 10, 1941, Harriss replied:

"Thank you for your kind letter of the 9th instant enclosing tickets to your meeting at the personal request of Senator Reynolds.

"Enclosed please find contribution to your wonderful patriotic work, which I only wish were larger. Will you kindly send me several of your buttons which I would like to distribute among my friends?

SEN. ROBERT R. REYNOLDS, *tar-heel fuehrer from North Carolina and chairman of the Senate Military Affairs Committee, was the contact man between Women United, virtually a subsidiary organization of America First, and Robert M. Harriss, Father Coughlin's financial adviser.*

"Attached is list of women to whom I would suggest you extend invitations to attend your meeting."

The total receipts for the meeting were $2,859.80. The total expenditures were $7,114.40. The small contributions which Women United received did not cover the deficit, but the organization is still functioning. Who met the deficit has not been explained.

I WONDER whether Women United is one of the "better anti-war groups" which the America First Committee subsidizes directly. The books of the national office at Chicago show under expenditures as of June 1, 1941, an item of $18,000 for "miscellaneous." "Miscellaneous" is like "patriotism"; it can cover a lot of things. I asked Richard A. Moore, red-headed director of organization, if "miscellaneous" covered subsidies for organizations working along the same lines.

"Oh, no! No subsidies," he assured me. "We don't subsidize anyone or anything."

"That's odd," I said, taking a sheet of paper from my pocket. "I have here an interoffice memo to four of your executives sent by young Stuart on Feb. 3, 1941. Let me read it to you.

" 'With reference to the memo by Mr. [Robert L.] Bliss [formerly director of organization at the national office and now director of the New York chapter] on January 29 regarding subsidizing some of the better anti-war groups, I want you to understand this information is strictly confidential and should go no further than this office.' "

"Jesus!" said Moore, his face turning the color of his hair.

"It's the memo that makes me wonder about America First subsidizing—"

"I don't know where you got that memo," Moore interrupted, "but the fact remains that we have not subsidized any other organizations."

"Then why were such memos written? Just to see if the typewriters were functioning?"

Moore smiled wryly. "Search me," he said. "I don't know anything about it."

"If it's not subsidies, would it possibly cover payments to speakers?"

Moore was shocked that anyone would think America First speakers got paid for their patriotic work.

"We don't pay any of our speakers," he said earnestly. "We pay their traveling expenses, that is, for some of them."

"Can you tell me who Mrs. Barbara McDonald is?"

"She was in charge of our Speakers' Bureau here. She's on vacation. Why?"

"I have a number of telegrams she sent dickering on prices to be paid your speakers. Let me read you a wire she sent on Feb. 17, 1941, to Maurice O'Connor, your West Coast agent who was at the Sir Francis Drake Hotel in San Francisco:

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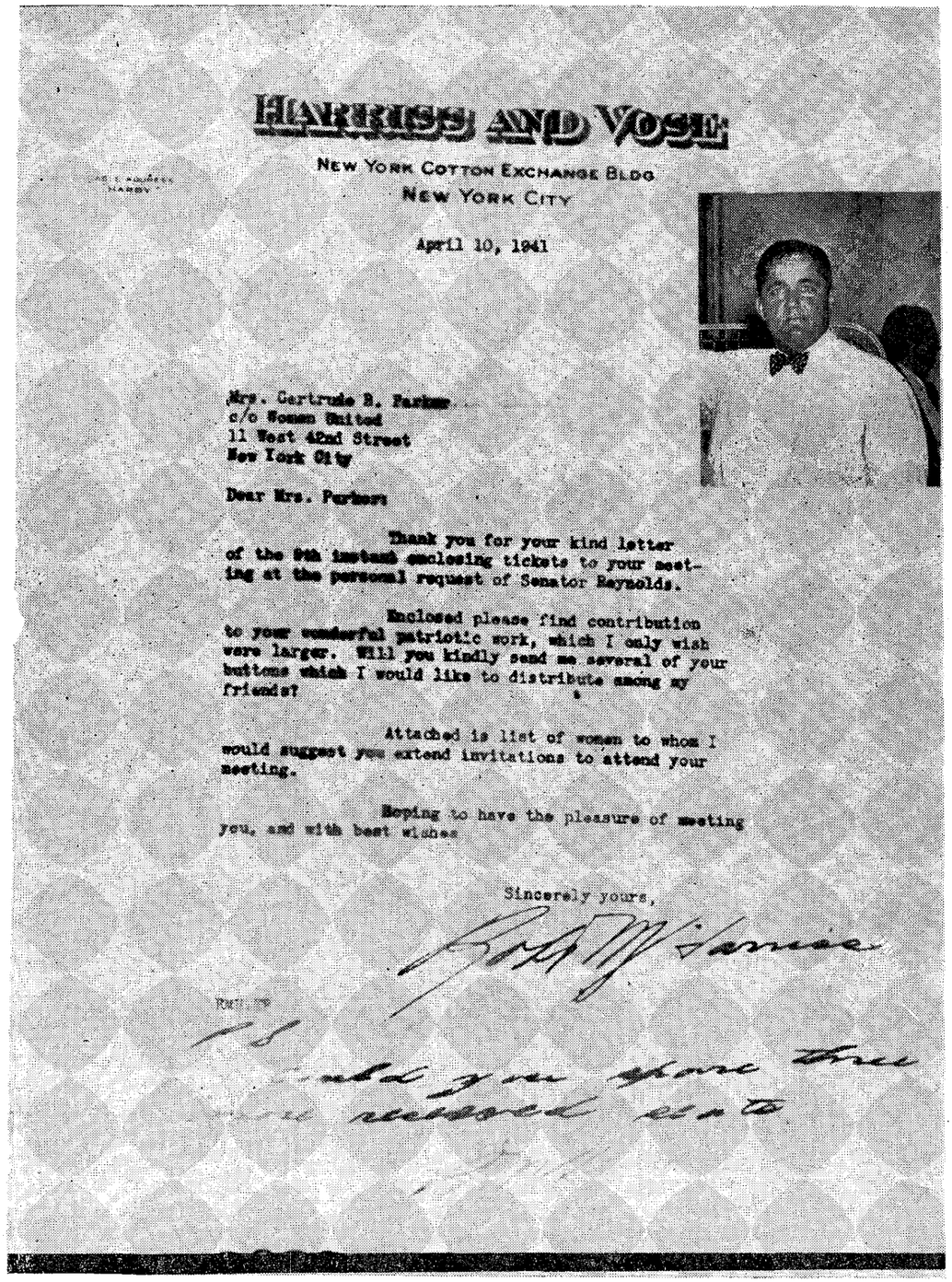

HARRISS AND VOSE

NEW YORK COTTON EXCHANGE BLDG
NEW YORK CITY

April 10, 1941

Mrs. Gertrude B. Parker
c/o Women United
11 West 42nd Street
New York City

Dear Mrs. Parker:

Thank you for your kind letter of the 8th instant enclosing tickets to your meeting at the personal request of Senator Reynolds.

Enclosed please find contribution to your wonderful patriotic work, which I only wish were larger. Will you kindly send me several of your buttons which I would like to distribute among my friends?

Attached is list of women to whom I would suggest you extend invitations to attend your meeting.

Hoping to have the pleasure of meeting you, and with best wishes

Sincerely yours,

THIS IS THE LETTER *Robert M. Harriss (inset) wrote to Women United, women's auxiliary of America First. Harriss handled the notorious silver purchases which Father Coughlin made with money collected to build a church. The meeting mentioned in the letter was run at a deficit. Who met the deficit has not been explained.*

" 'Will you see if you can reach personally Major Gen. Paul C. Malone, Hostess House, Ft. Mason, San Francisco? Have had correspondence with him. Personal friend of Gen. Wood. Talk San Francisco, Oakland, Pasadena, San Diego meetings for $100 plus traveling expenses. His usual fee is $200 per meeting. Tell him I suggested you contact him personally and I have wired Feakins New York lecture bureau under whose auspices he usually speaks asking them for clearance. . . . Believe personal contact might swing it on financial basis mentioned. Hugh Johnson out of picture for us.' "

(Hugh Johnson wanted $750 per patriotic blast.)

Moore's face got red again.

"I don't know anything about the wires she sent," he said. "She's away. Anyway we're not paying any speakers. All speakers at America First meetings are handled openly and above board—"

He saw me fishing in my coat pocket, apparently for another telegram, and he stopped.

"Let me read you another wire," I said. "The head of your speakers' bureau sent it to O'Connor on Feb. 6, 1941. It starts off with the word 'confidential':

" 'Confidential. Unless Holt [former Sen. Rush Holt of West Virginia] will state at opening of his address that he is not a member of America First Committee but is speaking as a private citizen he cannot be used for principal speaker of mass meeting or rally sponsored by the AFC. Not that Holt does not wish to cooperate with us but because he is somewhat discredited in Washington we cannot afford to have that reflection upon us. I realize it would be difficult to make change in speakers at this late date, so if you wish to continue with Holt it must be with his agreement that he will speak as an individual. Please regard this information as strictly confidential as we cannot afford to make an enemy of Holt. Would appreciate your letting us know the outcome. Copy of this wire to Wheeler.' "

Moore didn't say anything. He just smiled and looked up at the ceiling.

"With everything above board, possibly you can tell me what the objection was to Holt speaking for America First?"

"Other than what it says in the wire, I'm sure I don't know."

"Do you think it had anything to do with his being a member of Citizens Keep America Out of War Committee, which has sent speakers to Einheitsfront meetings when it's generally recognized that the Einheitsfront has virtually taken over the work of the German-American Bund? Holt, you know, had a lot of his propaganda stuff mailed out under his frank by such pro-Nazis as Joe McWilliams."

"That's possible," he said, grasping at an excuse. "We don't want to be tied up even indirectly with pro-Nazis and their sympathizers."

"The active guiding spirit of Citizens Keep America Out of War Committee is Avery Brundage, one of your original national committee members. I believe you told me he was dropped because of his anti-Semitism."

"Mr. Brundage is no longer on the committee," he said quickly.

"But William H. Regnery, one of the incorporators of America First and one of the seven men controlling the organization, is treasurer of the Brundage outfit."

"I don't know anything about it," said Moore. "I'm not running the committee. I'm just the director of organization."

In the anti-Semitic letter which Castle wrote to Hart (a photostatic copy of which appeared in last week's NEW MASSES), he expressed his affection for Verne Marshall, the opera bouffe fuehrer of the short-lived No Foreign War Committee, but pointed out that Marshall "is so violent on the subject of Jews and the New Deal that he is likely badly to overstep the mark." The America First Committee has not always been so fastidious in regard to the more violent Jew-baiters and pro-Nazis. For example, on Dec. 9, 1940, the aforementioned Mrs. Barbara McDonald, head of the speakers' bureau at the national office, wrote to Edward James Smythe of the Protestant War Veterans, 149 Vermilyea Ave., New York, thanking him for agreeing

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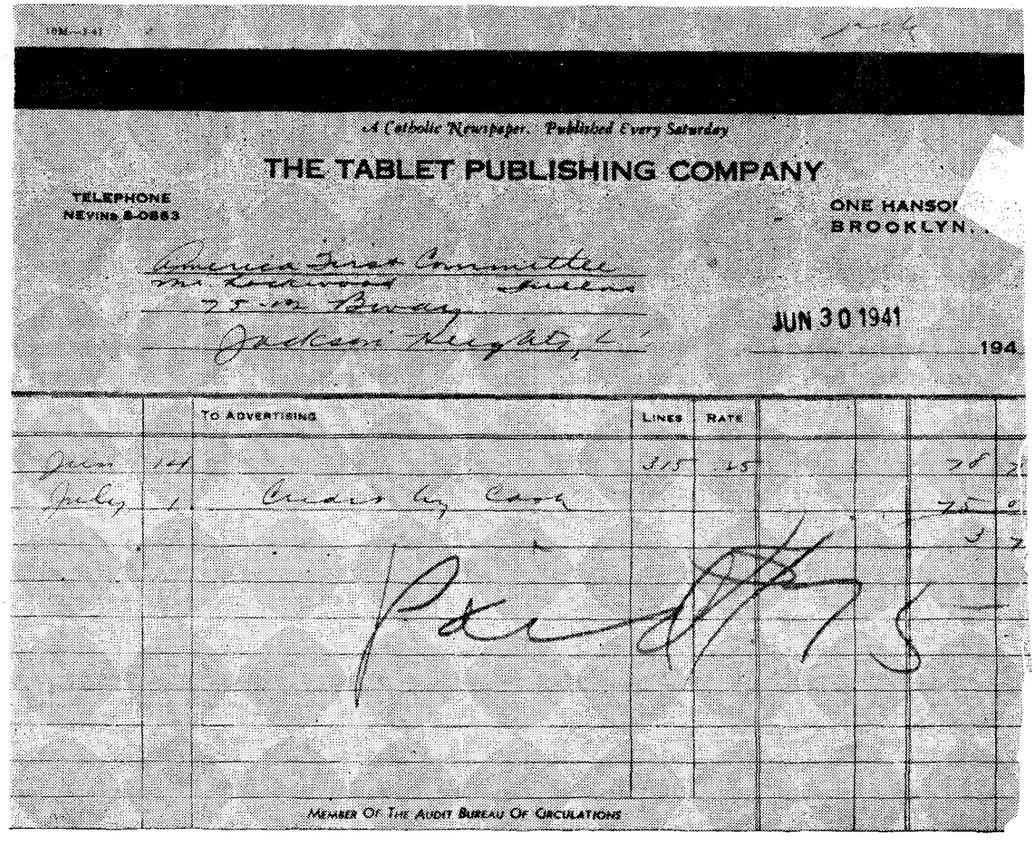
to speak on December 16 at an America First meeting in Philadelphia. Smythe was asked to return a confidential report on the meeting for the committee's files. Smythe has for years been one of the better-known operators in the anti-Semitic, fascist racket. He has boasted openly of having arranged a joint meeting with the Ku Klux Klan and the German-American Bund at Camp Nordland controlled by the Bund. He has repeatedly advocated disfranchising Jews and seizing Catholic church property. Smythe's anti-Catholicism, however, has not prevented Father Coughlin's Christian Front from working closely with him. And just about the time Smythe was winning new laurels as an America First speaker, he was in friendly communication with Gerald B. Winrod of Wichita, Kans., whose pro-Nazi and anti-Semitic activities are too well known to need any comment.

There have also been numerous instances of undisguised anti-Semitism in various America First chapters. In Brooklyn, for example, the Coughlinites have virtually taken over the large local chapter; they distribute Coughlin's *Social Justice,* and publish full page ads in *The Tablet,* organ of the Rev. Edward Lodge Curran. Or consider the ad America First inserted in the March 7, 1941, issue of the Portland, Ore., *Nachtrichten,* the leading pro-Nazi organ in the Northwest. The recent effort of John T. Flynn, chairman of the New York chapter of the America First Committee, to disavow the Coughlinites, Bundists, and followers of the anti-Semitic Joe McWilliams, at an America First meeting in Madison Square Garden, only emphasizes that the organization is the rallying center for the blackest elements in American life.

REV. EDWARD LODGE CURRAN *has worked with the fascist German-American Bund and is Father Coughlin's chief apostle in the East. In Brooklyn, New York, where Curran's Coughlinites operate, America First chapters are notorious for their anti-Semitism. America First has also placed advertisements in Curran's pro-Nazi publication, the Tablet.*

WHO ARE THE MEN that are supplying the endless stream of money for America First activities? What are their personal or business connections, if any, with Nazi Germany or its agents? These are matters which the officials naturally prefer to keep to themselves. The New York *Herald Tribune* tried for months to get America First to make public its list of large contributors. The publicity finally forced Gen. Robert E. Wood, acting chairman of the organization, to issue a partial list. Wood announced that forty-five of the contributors refused to allow their names to be made public.

The *Herald Tribune* took it for granted that this partial list, since it came from the committee's national headquarters in Chicago, covered contributors throughout the country. But the list made public by the committee omitted to mention that it covered contributions made only to the Chicago office. Under the America First setup the various chapters throughout the country function "autonomously," which includes raising and spending their own money. Sometimes some of them send their financial balance sheets to Chicago. By not pointing out this "autonomous" chapter setup, the impression was left that the amount received at Chicago was all that was received and spent.



A Catholic Newspaper. Published Every Saturday

THE TABLET PUBLISHING COMPANY

TELEPHONE NEVINS 8-0863

ONE HANSOM
BROOKLYN,

America First Committee
Mr. Lockwood
75 - 1[illegible] Broadway
Jackson Heights, L. I.

JUN 30 1941 194

		TO ADVERTISING	LINES	RATE	
June	14		115	25	28 75
July	1	Order by Coop			75 00
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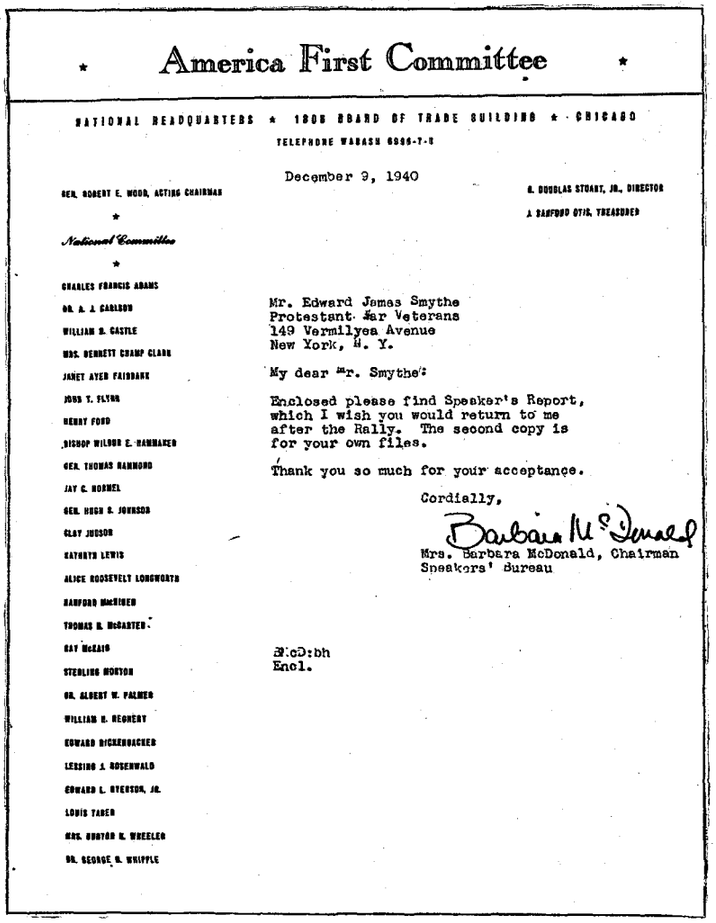

America First Committee

NATIONAL HEADQUARTERS ★ 1808 BOARD OF TRADE BUILDING ★ CHICAGO

TELEPHONE WABASH 6565-7-8

December 9, 1940

GEN. ROBERT E. WOOD, ACTING CHAIRMAN

R. DOUGLAS STUART, JR., DIRECTOR

J. RAMFORD OTIS, TREASURER

National Committee

CHARLES FRANCIS ADAMS
DR. A. J. CARLSON
WILLIAM R. CASTLE
MRS. BENNETT CHAMP CLARK
JANET AYER FAIRBANK
JOHN T. FLYNN
HENRY FORD
BISHOP WILBUR E. HAMMAKER
GEN. THOMAS HAMMOND
JAY C. HORMEL
GEN. HUGH S. JOHNSON
CLAY JUDSON
KATHRYN LEWIS
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RAMFORD McBRIDE
THOMAS N. McCARTER
RAY McCALL
STERLING MORTON
DR. ALBERT W. PALMER
WILLIAM R. REGNERY
EDWARD RICKENBACKER
LESSING J. ROSENWALD
EDWARD L. RYERSON, JR.
LOUIS TABER
MRS. BORTON H. WHEELER
DR. GEORGE S. WHIPPLE

Mr. Edward James Smythe
Protestant War Veterans
149 Vermilyea Avenue
New York, N. Y.

My dear Mr. Smythe:

Enclosed please find Speaker's Report, which I wish you would return to me after the Rally. The second copy is for your own files.

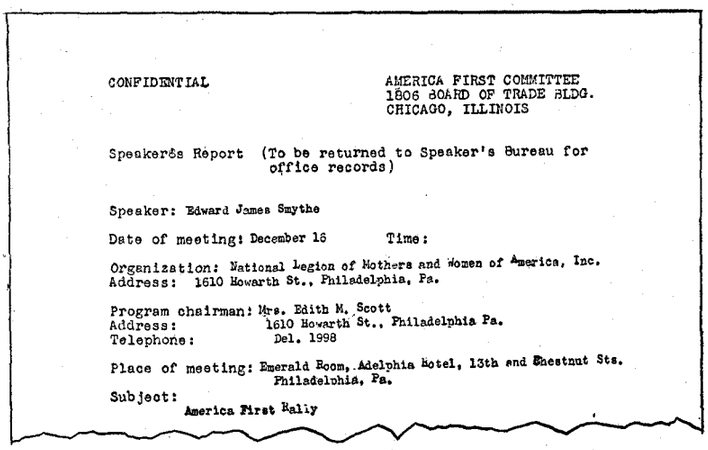
Thank you so much for your acceptance.

Cordially,

Barbara McDonald

Mrs. Barbara McDonald, Chairman
Speakers' Bureau

BMcD:bh
Encl.



CONFIDENTIAL

AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE
1808 BOARD OF TRADE BLDG.
CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

Speakerés Report (To be returned to Speaker's Bureau for office records)

Speaker: Edward James Smythe

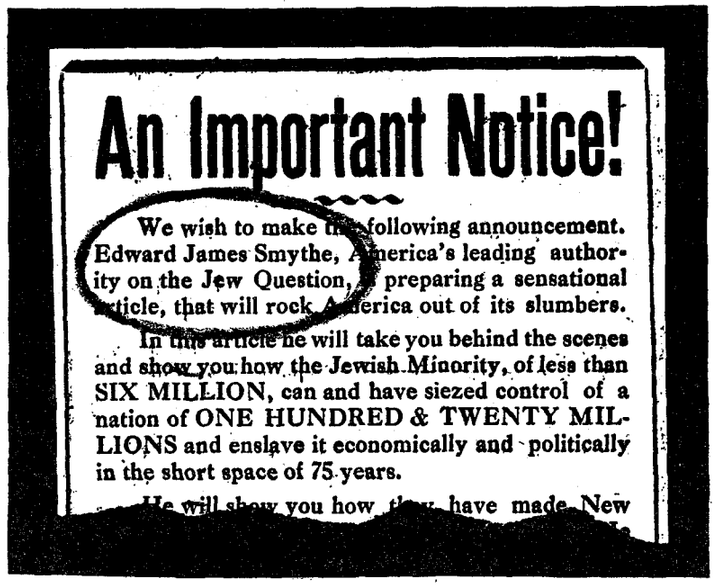
Date of meeting: December 16 Time:

Organization: National Legion of Mothers and Women of America, Inc.
Address: 1610 Howarth St., Philadelphia, Pa.

Program chairman: Mrs. Edith M. Scott
Address: 1610 Howarth St., Philadelphia Pa.
Telephone: Del. 1998

Place of meeting: Emerald Room, Adelphia Hotel, 13th and Chestnut Sts. Philadelphia, Pa.

Subject:
America First Rally



An Important Notice!

We wish to make the following announcement. Edward James Smythe, America's leading authority on the Jew Question, is preparing a sensational article, that will rock America out of its slumbers.

In this article he will take you behind the scenes and show you how the Jewish Minority, of less than SIX MILLION, can and have siezed control of a nation of ONE HUNDRED & TWENTY MILLIONS and enslave it economically and politically in the short space of 75 years.

He will show you how they have made New

AFTER MAKING ARRANGEMENTS *with him to address a rally in Philadelphia, the head of America First's speakers' bureau asks Edward James Smythe, one of the better-known operators of the anti-Semitic and anti-Catholic racket, to submit a confidential report of the meeting for the committee's files. Smythe has boasted openly of having brought the Ku Klux Klan and the German-American Bund together.*

AN ANNOUNCEMENT *of an anti-Semitic article by Smythe in the pro-Nazi publication Publicity.*

Actually the list issued by General Wood does not give anywhere near the total amount collected. The Chicago office alone, for instance, collected $231,000 during the past ten months. The New York chapter collected $112,000 in the past six months. These two offices alone collected and spent over one third of a million dollars.

Leaders in the various chapters and units (America First groups in smaller towns) are usually from the well-to-do class, people who can personally donate $100 or $200 to the work. Cities like Philadelphia, Boston, St. Louis, Los Angeles, San Francisco, Seattle, etc., are quite capable of raising large sums. According to America First's own claims, the committee has 250 chapters in the large cities throughout the country and 750 units in the smaller communities, each one functioning "autonomously."

The sums collected by these chapters and units and the identities of the contributors are guarded as carefully as state secrets. Nevertheless, I think we can arrive at an estimate of the minimum moneys received by America First and spent to undermine American security. From my knowledge of such organizations I think I can reasonably assume that over a period of several months of intensive effort each chapter in the large cities raised an average of $2,000. I am aware that this is an extremely low figure, but in the effort to estimate the sums received I am willing to consider the lowest figures commensurate with the activities. An average of $2,000 for the largest cities in the United States would promptly bring the moneys received by America First branches to not less than $500,000.

In the smaller "unit" communities, I think we may safely assume that after months of intensive effort an average of $300 was raised by each community. So small a sum can be raised overnight to cover mailing expenses alone, but again I am willing to take the very lowest possible figure. This gives us $225,000.

Add to these the third of a million dollars admittedly raised by Chicago and New York, and we find that the America First Committee raised and spent over $1,000,000 to bamboozle the American people into adopting the kind of foreign policy which helps Hitler.

Those who are known to have contributed heavily to America First's national office are in the "big money" class. They include such men as:

Ernest T. Weir, of Pittsburgh, chairman of the National Steep Corp., and treasurer of the Republican Finance Committee.

Edward L. Ryerson, of Chicago, chairman of the board of Inland Steel Co.

Thomas N. McCarter, chairman of the Board of Public Service Corporation of New Jersey.

H. L. Stuart of Chicago, president of Halsey Stuart & Co., the midwest's leading investment house.

Max W. Babb, president of Allis-Chalmers Co. in Milwaukee, whose attitude toward labor recently resulted in a bitter strike at his plant.

And Sterling Morton of Morton Salt Co., who, according to the Dickstein-McCormack congressional investigation in 1934, gave money to Harry A. Jung at the time Jung was busy disseminating anti-Semitic propaganda and working with secret Nazi agents in Chicago.

The Chicago national office admits that much of its financial support comes from the big business boys and gives bland assurances that each large contributor is known. Not one of them, says the national office, is a Nazi or acts as a channel for Nazi money. Usually

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such assurances would be acceptable. In this case they are not, for America First officials have given me too many solemn assurances and statements of "fact" which I knew from documents in my possession were inaccurate, to use the most polite description.

The New York and Chicago offices both insist that the largest single contribution does not exceed $2,000, thus creating the impression that no one individual is donating large sums. This statement, like the partial list issued by General Wood, is accurate as far as it goes. What is glossed over is how many times a single individual gave $2,000 checks. Edwin S. Webster, Jr., treasurer of the New York chapter, for instance, contributed several checks of $2,000 each, Robert L. Bliss, director of organization for the chapter, admitted to me. When you get several $2,000 contributions from a single individual, the total begins to assume healthy proportions.

Out of the $231,000 which the Chicago office received, its books show that $207,000 were spent, as of June 1, 1941, for the following purposes:

Advertising	$68,000
Printing & stationery	40,000
Payroll	42,000
Office rent	2,000
Travel, phones, wires, stamps, etc.	37,000
Miscellaneous	18,000

This breakdown of expenditures has several interesting items:

First, the $42,000 payroll for the Chicago office alone. In its appeals for funds the America First Committee states clearly: "The work of the committee is supported entirely by voluntary contributions of time or money."

I asked several competent lawyers what this sentence means in the labyrinth of legal technicalities. They told me that it means exactly what it says: that the work of the committee is done by persons who volunteer their time. According to America First's assurances, all moneys contributed to the organization should be spent on any of the numerous needs except payment for office work. The only way, I was told, that this assurance by America First could not be viewed as a possible violation of the law is that the seven men who control and run the organization consider themselves the entire committee and they give their time voluntarily. If this is the fine distinction, then it seems to me that America First members and the country in general should know that the mysteriously financed committee they are asked to support is a private organization, privately controlled and privately run.

When I was discussing the organization's finances with Moore, the director of organization, he found mention of the payroll embarrassing.

"I'd appreciate it," he told me, "if you didn't mention the payroll."

"Why not?" I asked.

"Well, people might object. You know how people are who give money. They might object to the way it was being spent."

"Why should they object to a payroll?"

SWAGGERING ERNEST T. WEIR, *chairman of the National Steel Corp., and treasurer of the Republican finance committee, is a heavy contributor to America First.*

"Well, some of our work is being done by volunteers," he explained uncomfortably. "Maybe those who volunteer their time wouldn't like it if they knew others were being paid."

The second interesting item in the breakdown of expenditures is that little one of $2,000 rent over a ten-month period. America First occupies the eighteenth floor of the Board of Trade building, one of the most desirable rental spots in Chicago, and the rent averaged $200 a month! If they'll give me the same rate, I'll take another floor. I could retire comfortably on the difference between the rate I'd pay and what I could get subletting it on a cold business basis. But—that's all the books show!

THE TOTAL NUMBER of citizens America First has lined up is another of the organizational activities kept secret even from its own members and the national committee. I am convinced the overwhelming majority of the members are honest citizens who haven't the slightest idea of the internal setup and behind-the-scenes activities of the committee. These citizens, told that the committee functions "the democratic way," do not question it; they are not aware that the entire body is controlled by seven men, that it is financed by unidentified sources, and that the committee is potentially the most menacing fascist body ever organized in the United States.

In its appeals for members the committee is always emphasizing that it is not necessary to contribute anything to join. One of its favorite high pressure methods is to write to a person whose name has been handed in or found in a telephone directory and welcome him as a member. If the recipient doesn't protest, he is admitted as one of the faithful. Once in a while somebody gets resentful enough at these tactics to tell the committee off.

When I talked with Bliss, formerly the director of organization at the national office and now director at the New York chapter, I asked him how many members the committee had throughout the country.

"People say 10,000,000," he said, with questioning shake of his head, "but I think 5,000,000 would be more accurate."

But he had no figures. I asked if he would get the latest membership figures from Stuart, and he sent a message over the teletype. For five days, at my insistence, he kept repeating the request for the exact number and for five days the national office stalled, though it couldn't have taken two minutes to get and send the latest available figures. Finally Stuart sent a message: "It would be all right for me to say 5,000,000 members."

After this official repetition of a huge membership which was not supported by any statement of figures, I went over to see Bliss at the New York offices at 515 Madison Ave. Bliss steered me safely to a corner desk. I brought up the membership question again. He just didn't know the exact number, "they were coming in so fast."

"What was the total membership before you lost count—the last available figure?"

"It would be hard to say."

"Would you say 1,000,000?"

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"Oh, much more than that. I think you can figure conservatively on 5,000,000."

"Don't you have a record of all the members throughout the country at the national office?"

"I suppose so, but it wasn't part of my work."

"Weren't you the director of organization and didn't you help start most of these chapters?"

"Ye-e-es," he said uncertainly.

"And you have no idea of the extent of the membership? Even approximately."

"About 5,000,000," he said again.

"On what do you base your estimate?"

"Well," he began, "we have about 250 chapters and 750 units throughout the country. An average chapter consists of about 2,000 members. Some, of course, have more and some have less but that's an average. Now our units—"

He stopped suddenly as if he realized that he was giving figures which would never support his and Stuart's easy estimate of "a conservative 5,000,000" membership.

"What do you estimate is the average membership of a unit?" I asked.

"It's hard to say," he began evasively. "Some are pretty big—"

"And some pretty small?"

"Yes. Some quite small," he admitted, his eyes glued to some papers on his desk.

"If I were to say that the average membership of a unit was 1,000, that would be more than generous, wouldn't it?"

He shot a glance at me and smiled without answering.

I took out a pencil and some paper. At his own maximum figures, 250 chapters with an average membership of 2,000 would bring the total to 500,000.

The more than generous estimate of 1,000 members to a unit would at the most give them 750,000 members, thus making a grand total of 1,250,000 members—if we accepted their own highest figures.

"How do you get 5,000,000 members," I asked again, showing him the simple multiplication and addition.

"I think—oh, some of our chapters, like here in New York, have many more than 2,000 members," he began.

"Undoubtedly. But you gave me an average. Some of your chapters are considerably smaller. I understood you to say that the average was 2,000 to a chapter."

"Yes. That's what I estimated," he admitted. "Well—why don't you just say 5,000,000? That'll be all right. That's what Stuart says."

"But I'd like to know on what you base your figures."

"Well, that's the figure Stuart gives."

GRANDIOSE CLAIMS are made to impress the public and the legislators with the popularity of a movement. In the past, when looking into the activities of pro-Nazi organizations which mushroomed in the United States, I found each one issuing tremendously exaggerated claims of membership. The Bund used to claim 100,000 when it had 3,000. The Silver Shirts used to claim 250,000 when it had 5,000. Two-by-four outfits like the "Order of '76" used to claim 10,000 when it had 125. Ultimately I found every organization which issued exaggerated claims of membership to show popular support feared disclosing the actual membership figures lest the whole movement be exposed as one directed by a handful of individuals with little popular following.

After talking with America First officials I concluded that if the organization had 500,000 members throughout the country, they were going like a house afire. Not one of the officials with whom I talked gave me simple, honest, straightforward answers. Either they "didn't know," or what they did give me as "facts" were far from accurate. But there was one official who in the past had been identified with liberal ideas, John T. Flynn, chairman of the New York chapter and member of the national committee. Flynn, author of several books and a feature writer on economic subjects for the Scripps-Howard press, was formerly a regular contributor to the *New Republic* and a member of the New York Board of Higher Education. Perhaps he would lift the veil hanging over the mysterious operations of the tightly controlled organization. I decided to see him.

After an hour's talk with him I concluded that activity in America First does something to people. When a person like Flynn tells me, for instance, that he didn't know that Coughlin was anti-Semitic or had ever spread over the air propaganda emanating from Goebbels' offices in Berlin, it makes you wonder about a lot of things. We met in Flynn's private offices at 15 E. 40th Street and got down to business immediately.

"How many members do you have throughout the country?"

"I haven't the faintest idea," he said. "Chicago would have that."

"I've been in Chicago and Stuart refuses to see anyone or talk with anyone without General Wood's okay. I thought maybe you'd know. You're a member of the national committee."

"My God!" he exclaimed. "You don't expect me to know everything that's going on nationally in the committee. I've got all I can do to direct the affairs of the New York chapter."

"Don't they keep the national committee members informed?"

"I get periodic memos about various mat-

These are among the "smart money boys" who are putting cash into America First.

THOMAS N. MC CARTER, *chairman of New Jersey's Public Service Corp.*

Max W. Babb, president of the Allis-Chalmers Co.

H. L. Stuart, president of Halsey Stuart & Co., leading investment brokers.

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Their Lebensraum Program

THE America First Committee pretends to be the "peace" party in this country. It comes before the American people with the thesis that we can safeguard our national security by withdrawing assistance from Britain and the Soviet Union, that is, by coming to terms with Hitler, whose victory Lindbergh still considers "inevitable." Such a policy, says the America Firsters, would keep us out of the war.

But as a matter of cool reason and fact, this claim is a hollow one. It is a grim masquerade. If Hitler defeated both Britain and the Soviet Union—which the America Firsters await with such anxiety—Germany would have at its disposal the resources of all of Europe, Asia, and Africa, a population of slaves ten times greater than the American population, with resources, shipbuilding capacities, armaments facilities several times larger than the United States can possibly develop in years. Our country could not possibly cooperate with Germany, even if we were strong enough: all we could do is what Chamberlain did, and that is to appease the fascists again and again. Each measure of appeasement would make them more arrogant, and the final outcome, as we have learned in the past ten years, would be a desperate warfare. A warfare in which America had lost all of its potential allies, all of its strategic positions, all of the support among democratic peoples which it now shares with Britain and the USSR.

So it is clear that America First's peace claims are hollow. They mean surrender to fascism in advance, or at least a desperate, suicidal struggle at some future time. And it is obvious that if it will take all the energies of the Soviet Union, Britain, and the United States combined to defeat Hitlerism *today,* then the United States could not possibly stand off the fascists by itself if we permitted Britain and the Soviet Union to go down.

As a matter of fact, however, it is not necessary to speculate on the end result of America First's foreign policy. Its leaders have stated in black and white that they are very much in favor of using American boys to dominate and oppress the peoples of Canada and Latin America. Their foreign policy is a crude jingoistic imperialism—and the proof comes from their own mouths.

In his radio speech of Oct. 13, 1939, Charles Lindbergh attacked the people of Canada because they did not secede from Britain when the war was declared. Lindbergh announced that "sooner or later we must demand the freedom of this continent and its surrounding islands from the dictates of European power."

If there is doubt whatsoever about Lindbergh's meaning, listen to the leading isolationist senator, D. Worth Clark of Idaho. On July 29, this year, he told reporters on Capitol Hill:

"Instead of talking about sending soldiers to Europe we ought to think about using them here in our own hemisphere."

That doesn't sound like a peace policy, does it? And Clark continued by proposing that the United States set up "puppet governments" in South America, and lay down the law to them, backed by our military force.

But the most flagrant revelation of America First's imperialism will be found in a speech which Gen. Robert E. Wood, chairman of the committee, made to the Chicago Council on Foreign Relations on Oct. 4, 1940.

"Americans like myself," says this Wood, "feel that our true mission is in North and South America. . . . With our resources and organizing ability we can develop . . . an only partially developed continent like North America and a virgin continent like South America. The reorganization and proper development of Mexico alone would afford an outlet for our capital and energies for some time to come. And while I think we should try in every way to maintain the friendship of our neighbors to the South, I think we should also make it understood that no government in Mexico, Central America, and the Caribbean South American countries will be tolerated unless it is friendly to the United States, and that, if necessary, we are prepared to use force to attain that object."

Reread this paragraph and ponder over it. This is the true policy of America First toward the Latin American peoples—a brutal, buccaneering, imperialist, rough-riding program—which jibes a hundred percent with General Wood's pro-Hitler orientation generally. It is in fact a duplicate of German imperialism's own attitude toward the peoples of central Europe, the Soviet Union, and Asia. These are words, if translated into their European context, that might be found in Professor Haushofer's "lebensraum" mythology.

"We are prepared to use force to attain that object," says Wood. "Sooner or later we must demand . . . this continent and its surrounding islands," says Lindbergh. "We ought to be thinking of using our soldiers here in our own hemisphere," says Clark.

Figure out for yourself what the peoples of Latin America think of this kind of language. Ask yourself whether this is a policy to which democratic Americans can possibly subscribe.

ters of policy, but they don't keep me informed about the membership."

"Do they keep you informed about how much money they take in and spend?"

"No, but I can tell you how much we've taken in. As of today we've taken in $112,397. I don't know exactly how much we've spent, but we have never gone broke or run into debt. We've always had a nice bank balance, sometimes ranging as high as $20,000."

"Have you taken any steps to check on persons who made large contributions to be sure that no Nazi money was being contributed?"

"I know who our large contributors are and there's no Nazi money. You can be sure of that."

"Are your books open to inspection?"

"Oh, no!" he exclaimed.

We argued a while over that and then I said:

"My interest in your contributors, of course, is due to the widespread belief that this organization's activities are exactly what Hitler would like to see carried on in this country. True, there are enough native fascists and pro-Nazis to keep you well supplied and I'm also interested in knowing what native Americans have given you money—"

"I'm not running a detective agency," he interrupted intensely. "I can't check on every contributor—even the large ones. All I can tell you is that they are known to me and there's no Nazi money."

"Let's take that for granted. But what are the business connections of these contributors with the Nazi government and Nazi industry?"

An interesting thing developed at this point. At the conclusion of the interview Flynn asked that I show him the questions and answers I had jotted down to be certain that I wouldn't misquote him. Naturally I was glad to do it. On the following morning I showed him the detailed notes. He made a few additions to round out his thoughts. His answer to the above question, according to my notes, had been a simple "I don't know." When Flynn came to it, he added a few words so that the answer read:

"I don't know all the business connections of every person who has given us money, but we are certain none of our large contributors have any Nazi connections."

As will be seen from the photostatic copy of Flynn's corrections in his own handwriting, he started to write "none of them have any Nazi" and then suddenly changed his mind, crossed it out and wrote "none of our *large* [my italics] contributors have any Nazi connections."

"Now I have a list of names," I continued, "individuals and business houses who, I have reason to believe, contributed pretty heavily to the America First. I am sure you don't want Nazi money. Now why not check those names with your contributors?"

"And tell you?"

"Naturally."

"Oh, no!" he said. "Why should I? Give

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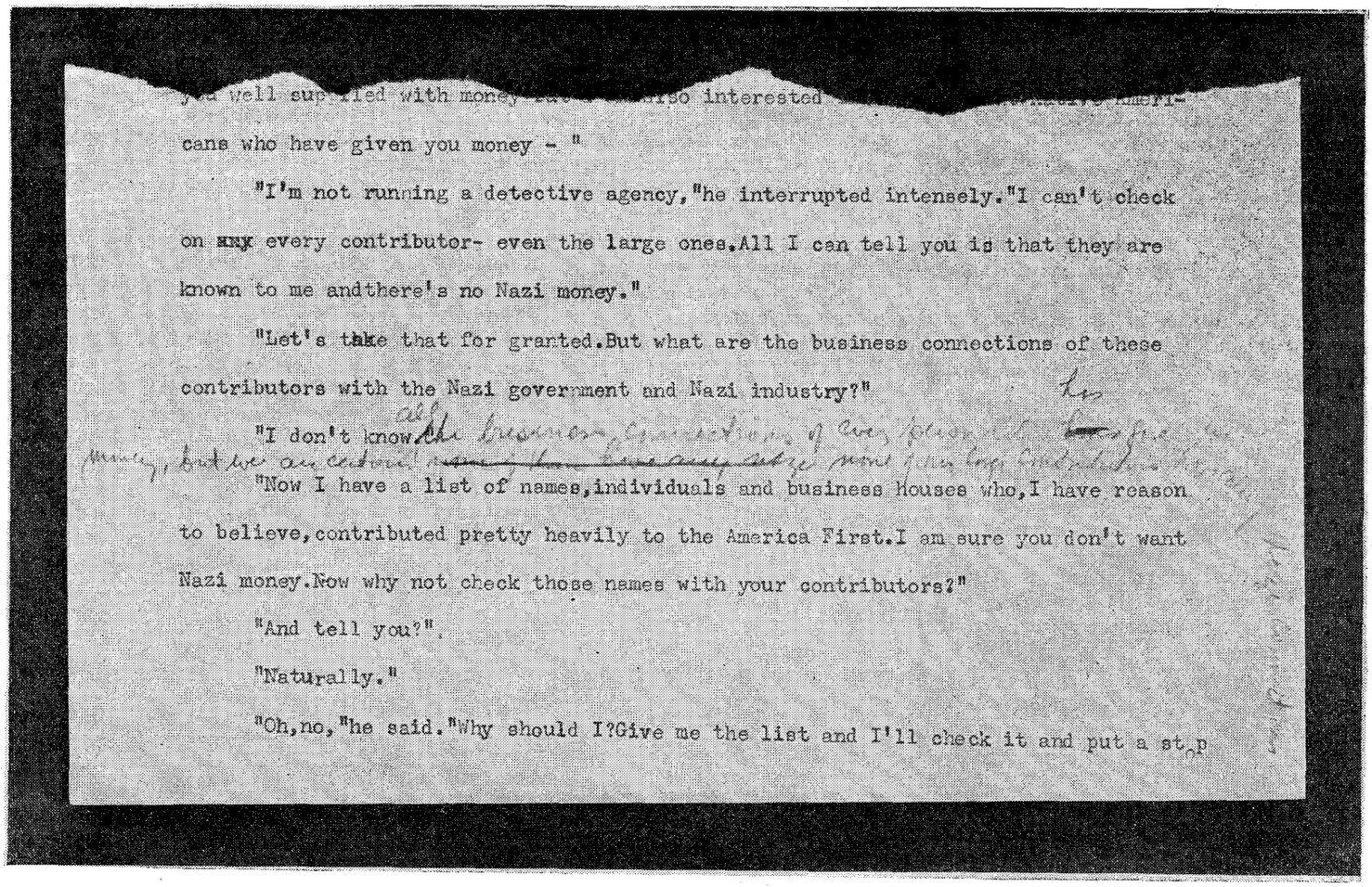

...well supplied with money ... also interested ... Americans who have given you money - "

"I'm not running a detective agency," he interrupted intensely. "I can't check on any every contributor- even the large ones. All I can tell you is that they are known to me and there's no Nazi money."

"Let's take that for granted. But what are the business connections of these contributors with the Nazi government and Nazi industry?"

"I don't know. all the business connections of our principal contributors money, but we are ... more than large contributors

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"And tell you?"

"Naturally."

"Oh, no," he said. "Why should I? Give me the list and I'll check it and put a stop

me the list and I'll check it and put a stop to it if it's so."

"You want me to turn my cards face up while you play with the ace in the hole?" I laughed.

Flynn laughed, too, and shrugged his shoulders.

"Suppose we get on to some of our native fascists. What connection has Merwin Hart with America First?"

"None whatever," he said quickly and added, "what are Hart's connections?"

I explained that he had been closely tied up with Franco agents, and how Franco agents had been tied up with Nazi agents.

"Oh, yes," he remembered. "As I recollect it, he wrote Stuart a letter. Stuart wrote me a note about it."

"I suppose that's in your files. May I see it?"

"Oh, it may be around. I probably wouldn't have it now."

"Don't you keep notes and memos from the national office?"

"Of course I do, but I don't keep every note and memo I get."

"It seems to me that in a case important enough for the national director to send a note to the head of one of the biggest chapters about a person of pro-fascist sympathies and activities, such a note wouldn't be thrown out."

"I probably haven't got it," he repeated.

Throughout the interview Flynn constantly commented upon the accusation that America First was anti-Semitic. It seemed to prey on his mind. People were "smearing" the committee with it and behind a lot of those "smears" were "British agents."

"Why," he exclaimed at one time, "do you know how much money I could get if I went out and made one anti-Semitic talk? I could get $500,000 without any trouble at all. Do you know what could happen if this 'smearing' continues? They'll force a lot of these people who are not anti-Semitic into becoming anti-Semites. Look at the members of our committee. If such a group of Americans were anti-Semitic, things would be very dark indeed. But I do not believe there is a member of our committee who is anti-Semitic."

This, of course, was before Lindbergh made his Des Moines speech, which subsequently received the blessing of the national committee. Flynn has made no public repudiation of Lindbergh's speech or the action of the committee.

"What's the relationship between the America First Committee and Coughlinites?"

"None whatever!" he exclaimed. "None whatever! Absolutely none!"

"Do you use Coughlinites and anti-Semites among your speakers?"

"No, sir!" he said emphatically.

"What do you know about Edward James Smythe?"

"I don't think I ever heard the name. Wait a minute, now. Possibly I did. Who is he?"

I explained the gentleman's background and Flynn said emphatically:

JOHN T. FLYNN *(below) corrects Spivak's notes of his interview with him. The photostatic copy of Flynn's corrections in his own handwriting shows he started to write "none of them have any Nazi" and then crossed that out and wrote "none of our large contributors have any Nazi connections."*

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"We wouldn't have anything to do with him. Why, did we?"

"Yes. America First used him as its main speaker for a Philadelphia meeting."

"Maybe the national office did. I don't know anything about it."

I switched to another subject. "Why has there been such a large turnover in the national committee?"

"I didn't know there had been," he said with a note of surprise. This time he didn't ask me: "Why, was there?"

"You're a member of the national committee. Don't you keep track of who is with you in deciding the policies of the organization?"

"I'm too busy to keep track of everything. Yes, I'm informed of changes."

By this time I was wondering whether he actually was too busy to keep track of things or whether he had joined the "I don't know" club. I couldn't help commenting:

"It seems to me that for one of the leading members of the national committee you don't know much about what's happening at the national offices.

"Just one more question. What's the relationship between America First and *Scribner's Commentator?*"

"So far as I know, none. Payson, who is a very rich man, seems to be behind it so far as I know. The only relationship is that Payson is a member of the board of the New York chapter."

This was a very interesting statement because Payson is not a member of the board, but obviously his relations with the committee are so close that Flynn thought he was a member of the board.

I DECIDED to make another effort to see the most authoritative spokesman for the America First Committee, Gen. Robert A. Wood. He had gone out of town on my first trip to Chicago and young Stuart, in refusing to see me, explained that the general had instructed him to keep his mouth shut. But there were important questions I wanted to ask General Wood—important not only to me, but to the entire American people. If the America First Committee really placed America first, if there was no Nazi money behind it, if it was not engaged in behind-the-scenes dealings with pro-fascists and anti-Semites, if there was no juggling of membership figures and finances, if, in short, it was the patriotic, above board organization it professed to be, surely General Wood would welcome the opportunity to make all this clear.

I went back to Chicago and tried for several days to see the head of the America First Committee. But the general had decided it would be better not to be interviewed, especially by me. Finally I got him on the phone.

"This concerns some matters which may reflect upon you as the head of the organization," I explained. "I didn't want to trouble you, but Bob Stuart won't talk without your permission—"

"I'm not giving any interviews," he said, in an harassed tone.

"But you—"

The bang of his phone convinced me that he wasn't giving any interviews. Apparently the head of the organization didn't want to answer questions about some very puzzling and mysterious aspects of its activities. I thought perhaps the committee's attorney, Clay Judson, who drew up the articles of incorporation to make it a legally functioning body and who serves as one of the seven persons with absolute control over the organization, might be able to explain some legal problems.

Judson didn't want to discuss the legal aspects of America First either.

"I won't be able to see you," he said, "but my secretary will show you the original articles of incorporation if you wish. If there are any things you don't quite understand, she may be able to help you out."

At the offices of Wilson & McIlvane, 120 W. Adams St., Chicago, where Judson is a member of the firm, his secretary brought out the original articles. "The board of directors is slightly changed," she said. "Jay O. Hormel is no longer on the board. Mrs. Janet Fairbank took his place. He resigned some time during the winter. He just didn't have the time to attend the meetings."

"When was the last meeting of the board of directors?"

"Why—I don't know. They meet every once in a while."

"Who are the directors now?"

"Why, the same seven people, of course."

"Was there another election recently?"

"No. I'm sure there wasn't."

"This record which you just brought me shows that the America First Committee was originally incorporated on Sept. 18, 1940, and the seven members of the board of directors are to function for one year. This is Sept. 24, 1941. The time of this board of directors, according to this record, has expired. If there has been no reelection, then these seven persons are no longer the board of directors and the America First Committee is functioning now without any directors—legally."

Judson's secretary examined the passage I pointed out and said brightly:

"Oh, they're elected until the new ones are chosen."

"I don't see it here, in the legal authorization for the committee."

"It's not here. It's in the by-laws."

"May I see them?"

She disappeared for about five minutes. When she returned, there was a little smile on her face.

"We don't have the by-laws," she said with an embarrassed giggle. "The by-laws are not a public record. We don't have to show them to you."

"You didn't have to show me this, either," I assured her, "but isn't it strange that the by-laws are not made public? Doesn't it seem that the committee draws up laws to guide its actions without telling either the state under whose laws it operates or the members whose money it collects, just what it's all about? How can the members check to see if the by-laws are followed if they don't have copies?"

"I don't know," she said.

"By whom were these directors appointed or elected?"

"I don't know. I'd have to ask Mr. Judson."

She disappeared for another five minutes. Though Judson was too busy to see me, he repeatedly found time to see his secretary and send answers through her for which he couldn't be held responsible if he should want to deny them.

"The directors were appointed at the beginning," the secretary announced with the solemnity of a person who discovered that "before there was light there was chaos." "And the directors elect the members."

"You mean the national committee?"

"Yes."

"Do the by-laws provide for that?"

"I don't know what the by-laws provide. I imagine they make them up to suit themselves."

"I appreciate your willingness to help, but it seems that there are some questions which Mr. Judson could best answer. If he's too busy today, would it be possible for him to see me tomorrow?"

"I don't know. I'll ask him."

She disappeared again. When she returned, I learned that Mr. Judson had a conference tomorrow. And the day after. And the week after. I got the idea.

"Perhaps if you'll ask him just one more question, I'll leave: when do you propose to file your annual statement on the corporation? The year is up, you know."

She disappeared into the inner sanctum again and came out in a few minutes.

"Mr. Judson says that in Illinois we don't have to file annual statements for non-profit making corporations, so we're not going to file any."

"You mean that in this state a group of people form a non-profit making corporation, collect money from the public and then don't have to make any kind of statement as to how much they've collected or what they did with it? Wouldn't that make Illinois a swell place for rackets?"

"I don't know anything about that," she said uncomfortably. "All I know is that Mr. Judson told me to tell you that we don't have to file any annual statement and that we're not going to file one."

Again I got the idea.*

JOHN. L. SPIVAK.

Next week John L. Spivak will delve into the mystery of Scribner's Commentator, voice of Charles A. Lindbergh, and tell of its editor's relations with a Nazi emissary. He will also expose the secret apparatus set up by Henry Ford in collaboration with Scribner's Commentator and Lindbergh to file and code lists of supporters throughout the country.

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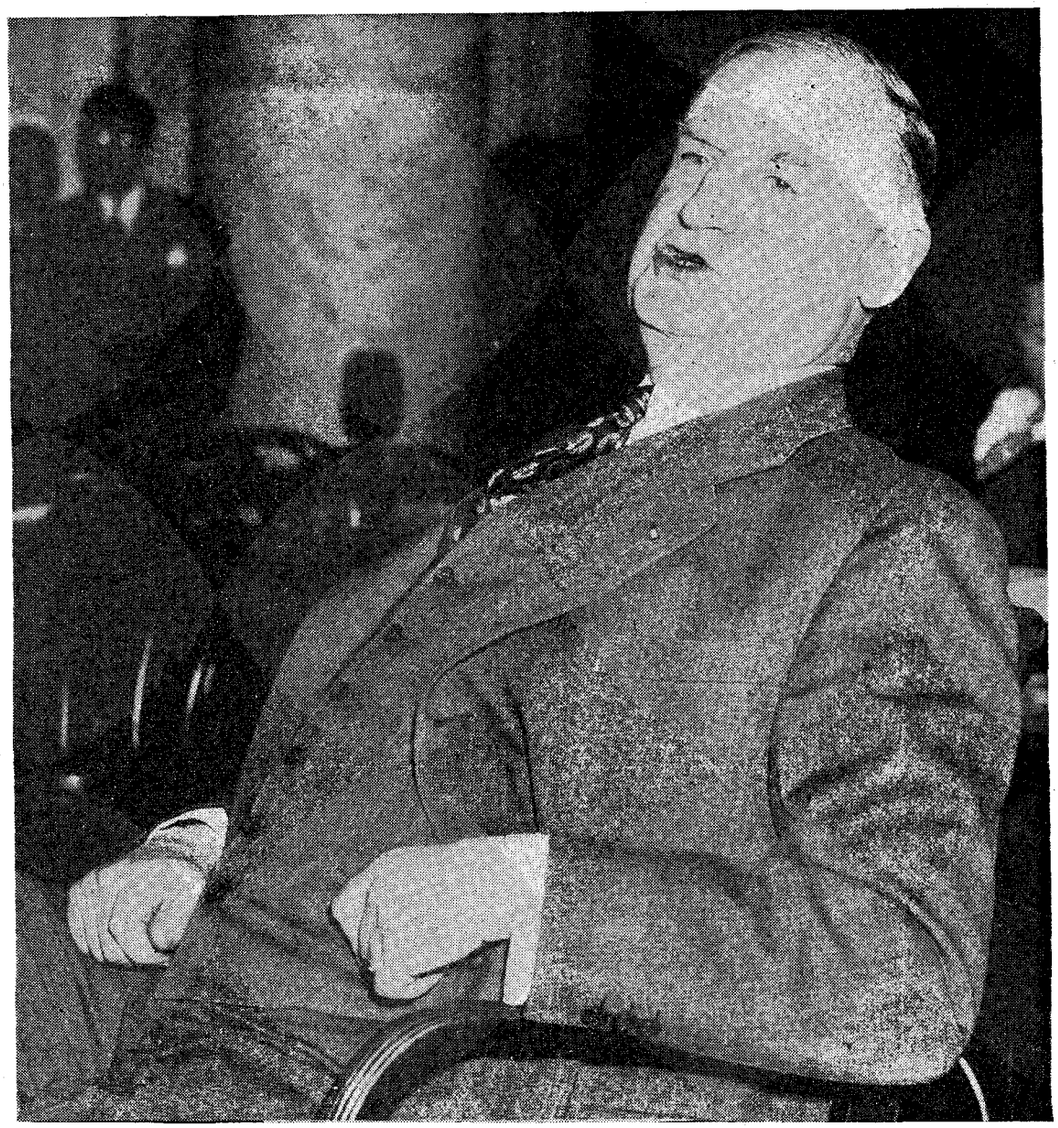
WHAT ARE YOU TRYING TO HIDE, GENERAL WOOD?



What is it you feared when you refused to see Mr. Spivak? Spivak wanted to ask you some questions the people of America are asking.
He wanted to know:

1. **If "America First" was juggling finances and membership figures.**
2. **If "America First" has behind-the-scenes deals with notorious pro-Nazis and anti-Semites.**
3. **If "America First" has Nazi money behind it.**

Why are these questions so embarrassing?
What are you afraid of, General Wood?
Perhaps the United States government can make you talk or find out what it is you fear to talk about.

The Editors.

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HOW YOU PAY FOR PRO-NAZI PROPAGANDA

The scandal of the congressional frank. The tricks Fish, Wheeler, and Nye use to let pro-Nazi groups spread "America First" propaganda over the nation.

ONE of the chief public activities of America First is to flood the country with propaganda. Besides the enormous quantities of material mailed from the national offices in Chicago and the various chapters in leading cities throughout the country, the organization also sends material, without any mailing costs to itself, through the courtesy of the United States government. This is achieved by way of the committee's Washington contacts and none has been more helpful than Senator Wheeler. The technique is old and sure-fire. A senator or a congressman makes a propaganda speech or merely inserts a statement into the *Congressional Record*. Once it's in the *Record* he can order as many reprints from the government printer as he wishes, at printing costs. These reprints are shipped to organizations by the sack loads for addressing and mailing to endless lists of names. No stamps are necessary, for the unaddressed envelopes carry the senator's or congressman's frank. The senator or congressman pays the government printer, and the organization which wanted the propaganda refunds the money to the lawmaker. The senator or congressman merely acts as agent for a private propaganda organization to get printing done at cost and mailing free of charge. For an organization like America First, with a huge printing and stamp bill, such congressional cooperation is worth thousands of dollars. In the now notorious case of the postcards Senator Wheeler mailed under his frank, he at first tried to tell his colleagues in the Senate that he himself had paid for the printing; a little later in open debate he admitted that America First had paid for it.

Next to Lindbergh, Wheeler is the loudest and most vociferous spokesman for America First. He himself is not an official of the organization, but his wife is a member of the national committee, and communications between America First headquarters and the senator are routed via his wife through their home at 3757 Jocelyn St., N.W., Washington. The senator is no new hand at sending bales of propaganda to notorious pro-Nazi and anti-Semitic individuals and organizations for addressing and mailing under his frank. Among those who have disseminated his franked mail have been such pro-Nazis as Charles B. Hudson of Omaha, Neb., Donald Shea, and Joe McWilliams. At Christian Front meetings in New York, McWilliams used to urge his audiences to get the material, address the envelopes, and "drop them in the nearest mail box. No stamps are necessary since they have Senator Wheeler's frank on the envelope."

Lindbergh statements are the favorite material for franked mailing, and they have been sent out by the hundreds of thousands. Postal regulations provide that a member of Congress may send as many sacks of unaddressed mail with his frank as he wishes to *one* agent for addressing and mailing. Let me quote from a letter written by Cong. James C. Oliver of Maine on July 14, 1941, as to how many agents have disseminated Lindbergh's statement:

"Let me add briefly that the organizations participating in the distribution of the Lindbergh statement were the America First Committee, *Scribner's Commentator*, the American Coalition, and other patriotic organizations whose deep seated interest in the welfare of the United States cannot be questioned."

I don't know by whom it can't be questioned; I question it very seriously, and there are a lot of others besides me. I shall consider *Scribner's Commentator* and its "patriotism" in a subsequent article. So far as the American Coalition is concerned, I do not want to digress by going into it in detail. It is sufficient to say that a number of pro-fascists, pro-Nazis, and anti-Semites are in it and that the Coalition supported James True, one of the chief pro-Nazi and anti-Semitic propagandists in the country. True once patented a "Kike Killer" with which to slug Jews in street brawls. This is the type with which the "patriotic" Coalition has worked.

Let us see what the law says on the use of the frank to disseminate material: Chapter 4, Sec. 613 (1932) of the Postal Laws and Regulations provide:

"It shall be unlawful for any person entitled under the law to the use of a frank, to lend said frank or permit its use by any committee, organization, or association, or permit its use by any person for the benefit or use of any committee, organization, or association. This provision shall not apply to any committee composed of members of Congress."

You will note that any use of the frank for the benefit of a private organization is expressly prohibited. Let's see if any private organizations have used such propaganda reprints to advertise themselves. Some branches of the Steuben Society have been working intensively to develop a popular demand for this country to adopt the pro-Hitler foreign policy urged upon us by the America First propaganda machine. Theodore M. Hoffmann, national chairman of the Steuben Society, delivered a radio talk over Station WHA in Madison, Wis. The talk dealt with Americans of Germanic extraction, a fine and interesting subject. Sen. Gerald P. Nye of North Dakota had it inserted in the *Congressional Record* and the Steuben Society did the distributing.

If you will look at the illustrations on the opposite page you will see that the type used by the Steuben Society's addressograph machine has a "55" stamped near the postage registration mark. The second 5 is almost obliterated. If you will now glance at the envelopes mailed in New York and franked under Wheeler's signature you will find the same type and the same 55 with the second 5 almost obliterated. The type is exactly the same, and belongs to an old-style machine of which there are fewer than twenty-five in New York. The ink used is a peculiar blue and only three of the owners of the old type use this peculiar blue ink. One of them is the Michael Hillegas Unit No. 55 of the Steuben Society with offices at 348 E. 146th St., New York.

This unit has been very active in disseminating Wheeler franked propaganda against aid to Britain, Greece, and China, and has disseminated a lot of Senator Nye's franked propaganda. On June 13, 1941, Unit No. 55 also issued to its membership a mimeographed letter from which I quote two significant paragraphs:

"At this meeting excerpts from the *Congressional Record* will be distributed to the members. They are in the form of a radio address delivered by our National Chairman. . . . (These excerpts are in franked envelopes, requiring no postage.)

"Come to the meeting and get a bunch of them to distribute among your friends."

Who paid for the wide distribution of propaganda against helping Britain and China? Who paid for the tons of propaganda sent from Wheeler's office to Joe McWilliams, Donald Shea, and other notorious pro-Nazis? Senator Wheeler is silent on this score.

JOHN L. SPIVAK.

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AMERICANS OF GERMAN EXTRACTION

Radio Address Delivered by Theo. F. Hoffmann, National Chairman, Steuben Society of America

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF
HON. GERALD P. NYE
of North Dakota

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Tuesday, May 20, 1941

U. S. GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE

NEW YORK CITY

States."

From an Address by
SENATOR B. K. WHEELER

(Printed in the Congressional Record of March 24, 1941)

U. S. GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE

NEW YORK CITY

THE FISH SCANDAL. *A notorious odor emanates from the mystery of the missing mail bags. The Fish episode involves a certain propagandist, Prescott Dennett, who has been accused by government lawyers in open court of accepting money from known Nazi agents. "America First" is also in the picture and so are bags of mail bearing the franks of appeasement congressmen and copies of their speeches.* NEW MASSES *is gladly offering all its material—the photostats above as well as any other evidence Mr. Spivak has collected—to governmental authorities. In connection with the Fish incident, the documents reproduced above are important: Note that the top envelope comes from the Steuben Society, some branches of which urge a pro-Hitler foreign policy. Note too the encircled "5." The other two letters, with Senators Nye and Wheeler's names, also have the mysterious "5" on them. Mr. Spivak on the opposite page explains that the Steuben Society's addressograph machine has a "55" stamped near the postage registration mark. The second "5" is almost obliterated. The type belongs to an old-style machine. The ink used is a peculiar blue and only three of the owners of the old type use this peculiar blue ink. One is the Michael Hillegas Unit No. 55 of the Steuben Society which has widely distributed propaganda against aid to Britain, Greece, and China. Who paid for this wide distribution of propaganda that helps Hitler? Senator Wheeler and his clique are strangely silent on this score.*

Note the swastika behind Ham Fish

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BRITISH PRODUCTION STEPS UP

Claude Cockburn discusses the aftermath of Tanks for Russia Week. Workers and management. The new drive for greater output.

London (by cable).

IT IS in many more ways than one that Tanks for Russia Week has "surpassed expectations" and the repercussions are going to be big. The first and most important thing, of course, is that it did break all previous records of tank production by twenty percent—a matter of immediate, first class importance for the Eastern Front. The second is that Beaverbrook, with his flair for knowing what the public is really thinking, was proved right in believing that Tanks for Russia was a slogan that would cause greater enthusiasm and wash away more of the disillusionment of past years than anything else. It is at least permissible to doubt, and the point is of some significance, whether Churchill would ever have thought of or grasped the effectiveness of such a slogan. As I pointed out a couple of weeks back, Churchill is very considerably and even dangerously out of touch with the feelings and aspirations of the average skilled worker in, say, the engineering trades. It may be that the events of Tanks for Russia Week will improve his knowledge and understanding in this respect.

To say that Beaverbrook was proved right means in reality this: all those were proved right who said that as and when the British workers understood and believed that at last we are in a common front with the people of the Soviet Union, and that their efforts really are being used to assist the fight of the Red Army in an effective way, then we should see everywhere the breaking out of an entirely new spirit in industry. Hundreds of thousands of workers have grasped and acted upon the new situation from the very beginning of Hitler's attack on the Soviet Union. There have been others who have been slower to grasp the implications of this fight. And then on top of that there has been all the cynicism and suspicion bred by such events as the Moore-Brabazon speech, the unnecessary delay in getting the Anglo-American missions to Moscow, and the recent article by Captain Margesson, minister of war, in the London *Star* apparently suggesting that the most the government thinks we can do is to sit tight and keep a sharp eye open for a German invasion of Britain. And this sort of suspicion, relating particularly to the foreign policy of some elements in powerful positions, links up of course with suspicions arising from the inefficiency and profiteering which workers in industry see at first hand. Tanks Week, the promise that these tanks really were going directly into action on the Eastern Front, was a straightforward and inspiring proposition and assurance of at least some action along the lines working people have been demanding for weeks.

Beaverbrook's own newspaper, the *Evening Standard,* recognizes the situation in a significant editorial, saying: "The main lesson is obvious. Our rulers, indeed all those who exhort the nation to greater effort in the war, have been given a simple lesson in psychology . . . in view of these facts we trust that certain of our masters will remodel some of their weekend utterances. . . . The vast majority of the British people are convinced that Russia and Britain stand or fall together. To separate the two causes even in a phrase defies the spirit that broke production records last week. Let every man in authority recognize therefore that a new mood possesses this land. We can see our way through now if only Russia is sustained to the full by the illimitable capacities for work and daring of the common people of Britain. . . ."

The next point that emerges from Tanks for Russia Week is this: if the engineering workers under such a stimulus could raise production above all existing records by twenty percent, without there being any drastic overhauling of general production methods, what the devil would happen if you had this stimulus plus that overhaul? And don't let anyone imagine that that question isn't being asked in the tank factories. There they stood last week, those proud and skillful men and women, watching the tanks come off the assembly line—the "Stalin," the "Timoshenko," the "Lenin," and the "Karl Marx." They saw and heard for the first time the Soviet ambassador talking to them directly, bringing to them the direct greetings of the tankworkers and the tankists of the Soviet Union and the Red Army. They knew that they had done a terrific job. They knew that they were prepared to go on doing that kind of job for that kind of objective. And since the objective was now clear to all eyes, there occurred in everyone's mind the question: are we getting all we can get out of our own work and skill and the fine machines we have? Why can't we get rid of some of the obstacles in the way of production on the management side and on the government side? Tanks for Russia Week is quite certainly going to intensify the drive for the tackling of such problems.

Of the utmost importance in this connection is the first national production conference of shop stewards to be held in London on October 19. This is the next stage of development following the large number of local production conferences which have been held, including the big London area conference, where representatives of the entire armaments industry of greater London were present. The national conference will assemble a minimum of 2,000 delegates representing the armament industry throughout the entire country. And it will be a conference of the most practical character imaginable. It is certain that it will do a very great deal to exert the full weight of the armament workers behind the demand for a new policy directed along two main lines. The first line is concerned with the special day-to-day problems in each particular factory and on each particular job. Here it is obvious that there cannot be any national regulation made, but that these problems can be dealt with only as a result of maximum cooperation between the managements and the men on the job. But right here we come up against the fact that a large number of managements are most bitterly resisting each and every attempt to "interfere" as they impudently term it with their "managerial functions." Incredible as it may seem, the principal organization of engineering employers has just circularized its members with a suggestion that they should refrain from giving any assistance whatever to the Amalgamated Engineering Union, which is trying to conduct a nationwide inquiry into the causes of bad, slow, or otherwise inefficient and inadequate production. Equally "incredible" and equally characteristic of some sections of British bourbonry, was the fact that when the president of the National Union of Railwaymen, largest union in Britain, last week took the chair at a production conference organized by the Labor Research Department, the Trades Union Congress issued from Transport House a special notification urging trade unionists to stay away on the ground that there were Communists in the leadership of the Labor Research Department. Still, they didn't stay away.

THE SECOND LINE of action is concerned with general as distinct from specific, local problems. Out of a very long list of difficulties that have got to be undertaken on a nationwide basis, probably the one on which there is the widest agreement is the question of the cost plus ten percent contract system with all the evils of subcontracting which arise from it. For it is obvious that under such a system—whereby a man's total profit rises simultaneously with the total costs of the job—there is every possible incentive to the formation of dummy subcontracting companies, or buying into existing small companies by the main contractor, so that the big contractor can then get the money coming and going. It is small wonder that the magazine, *The Banker,* recently remarked somewhat acidly that "it is something of a miracle that production ever takes place at all." One of the points over which there is agitation is that the system of fixed price contracts, already in use on a small scale, should be largely substituted for the cost plus ten percent system. And with this, of course, necessarily goes the demand that the expert representatives of the workers who know the job should be officially and fully consulted in the fixing of contracts, as the only real check possible on the rapacity of contractors, on the one hand, and the meanness of government departments on the other. In every way the working class is increasingly determined that the government must be gingered and strengthened to the point where its policy will really correspond in vigor and audacity to the demands of the people.

CLAUDE COCKBURN.

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ARTILLERY: THE GODDESS OF WARFARE

The training and traditions of Soviet artillery and personnel. Col. T. analyzes some interesting figures from the last war. Putting the Nazis through the artillery wringer.

STALIN has called artillery "the goddess of war." By so dubbing it, he wished to underscore the tremendous importance of this arm of Soviet defense from the very beginning of the rearmament program of the Red Army.

A year ago when special high schools were set aside for gifted students who wished to embark on a military career, the first such students in Moscow received black, trim uniforms with crossed cannon on the collar. The best of Soviet youth entered these preparatory artillery schools. These measures for fostering, promoting, and strengthening Soviet artillery do not conflict with the best Russian army traditions. Russian artillery won well-earned fame in practically all the wars from the time of Peter the Great on. It is also no mere coincidence that the czar chose for himself a *nom de bataille* which was Bombardier Mikhailov (a bombardier in Russian military terminology means corporal of artillery). Peter liked to be called by that name. Thus he manifested his special love and interest in artillery. To make cannon to fight the Swedes he did not hesitate to remove the carillons of the churches and monasteries and to melt them. And to the protesting priests, bishops, and metropolitans, he said: "You can pray without bells, but I can't fight without guns."

Last year the Soviet Artillery Academy marked its 120th anniversary. It was founded in the reign of Alexander I. Before the Revolution it was reputed to be the institution of highest education with the most terrifying academic curriculum. Russian artillery officers, especially those who were graduated from the academy, were known for their seriousness and knowledge. The Red Army kept within its ranks a large number of the alumni of this remarkable institution. Many of them are pensioned with honors; others, men of seventy and over, still teach, invent, and do research work. The venerable figures of Generals Grave, Drosdov, Helwig, Kozlovski can be seen in the anniversary group picture of the Academy's staff. This great number of artillery officers of the old regime, who still faithfully serve the army of their fatherland, is no coincidence. Artillery is here in the vanguard because artillery officers were usually men highly educated, men who could think for themselves, men who understood the integer of the events taking place in Russia in 1917 and found in themselves the courage to go forward with the people and against their class.

This high standard of the artillery officers of the Russian Army found its direct repercussion on the fields of battle, where Russian artillery, when in adequate numbers and adequately supplied, almost without exception out-shot and out-hit German artillery which was the pride of the German General Staff and the terror of the world. If there was one Russian gun and that gun had one shell, the shell was sure not to be wasted. But unfortunately, in the campaigns of 1914-18, guns were few and so were shells.

In order to appreciate both the quality and the dearth of Russian artillery in the war of 1914-18, several tables of figures must be examined. Here are three of them taken from the book written by a confirmed White Russian emigre, Lieut. Gen. Golovin, G.S. —*The Russian Army in the World War,* pp. 134, 141, and 142.

Russian and German Artillery in East Prussia, August, 1914

BATTLES	RUSSIANS		GERMANS		
	Battalions	Batteries	Battalions	Batteries	Tactical Results:
Stallupoenen, 8/4/14	40	20	17	19	Indecisive
Gumbinnen, 8/7/14:					
Russian 28th Div.	12	6	25	28	Decisive German success
Russian 29th Div.	12	8	11	7	Indecisive
Russian Third Army Corps	42	22	25	28–30	German attack repulsed
Sector So. of Rominten Forest	22	9	26	16	Indecisive

Thus we see that in the Battle of Gumbinnen a total of eighty-eight Russian battalions with forty-five batteries were pitted against eighty-seven German battalions with ninety-one batteries. In the battle of Hohenstein-Soldau (Aug. 13-15, 1914) the proportion was still worse for the Russians: seventy-six battalions with thirty-five batteries against eighty-one German battalions with eighty-one batteries. Only in the region of Waplitza did the Russians have any success during this battle and this because in that sector they had an almost equal number of batteries with the Germans. It must be further indicated that Russian artillery was eighty-five percent field guns and fifteen percent light howitzers, while the Germans had fifty-five percent field guns, twenty percent light howitzers, and twenty-five percent heavy artillery. So that the term "battery" in the above table hardly represents a constant of fire power, the Germans having had double fire power concentrated in each battery in comparison with the Russians. In other words the salvo of, for instance, forty-five Russian batteries was equal to the salvo of only twenty-two and a half German batteries.

Artillery on the Russian Front on October 1, 1917

FRONTS:	LENGTH OF FRONT	NUMBER OF GUNS PER MILE OF FRONT			
		Howitzers		Heavy Guns	
		Russian	Enemy	Russian	Enemy
Northern Front	185	1	2	0.8	1.7
Western Front	290	0.3	0.45	0.35	1
Southwestern Front	335	0.35	0.85	0.28	0.5
Rumanian Front	420	0.63	0.56	0.35	0.77
Caucasus Front	700	0.05	0.03	0.07	0.07

From this table it may be seen that in October 1917, the Russian Army was sufficiently equipped with howitzers and heavy guns only on the Caucasus front, that is, in the war with Turkey. In such equipment it was only half as strong as the Germans and Austrians.

Number of Guns demanded by Russian GHQ and delivered

	GUNS DEMANDED BY RUSSIAN GHQ	ACTUALLY DELIVERED	SHORTAGE
Field Artillery			
3-inch	14,620	3,538	11,082
Light howitzers	2,300	445	1,855
Heavy Field Artillery			
4.2-inch guns	384	336	48
6-inch howitzers	516	224	292
Heavy Artillery			
6-inch guns	812	116	696
5-inch howitzers	211	51	160
9-inch guns	168	...	168
11-inch howitzers	156	6	150
12-inch howitzers	67	12	55
Anti-aircraft Artillery	1,052	less than 50	more than 1,000
Trench Artillery			
37-mm guns	4,476	less than 300	more than 4,176
bomb-throwers & mine-throwers ...	13,900	1,997	11,903

From the table above it is clear that in 1917 the Russian army received only a small part of the equipment necessary to bring it to the level of the German army of 1914. Thus it is clear that, in comparison with the enemy armies and those of Russia's allies, the Russian army was, in 1917, even more poorly armed than in 1914.

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These rather complicated and dry tables have been appended here with the object of showing through cold figures that Russian artillery must have been excellent as far as quality of guns and personnel is concerned, to win, under such trying conditions, the reputation of being a first rate arm. This reputation was conceded to it by the Germans themselves. The traditions of the Russian artillery remained as the foundation of the building up of the artillery of the Red Army. But, in addition to traditions, good schooling, and heroic gunners, the Soviet government succeeded in giving its artillery the best product (in great quantities) of the industrialization of the country.

Thus Marshal Voroshilov early in 1939 was in a position to report to the XVIII Congress of the CPSU certain significant figures. First of all he reported that the light field artillery had been increased by thirty-four percent during the period 1934-39. The medium artillery increased by twenty-six percent, heavy artillery by eighty-five percent, AA-artillery by one hundred and sixty-nine percent. AA and AT artillery (anti-aircraft and anti-tank) increased still more. The proportion of howitzers increased by eighty percent. The mean range of heavy artillery increased from fifty to seventy-five percent. The rate of fire, especially as far as tank and anti-tank guns are concerned, increased by one hundred percent.

As to absolute figures, the following are of great importance: The salvo of the guns of a Soviet army corps weighed (in 1938) 7,136 kilograms, while the salvo of the guns of a German army corps weighed only 6,078 kilograms. At the same time, the guns of a Soviet army corps could hurl 66,605 kilograms of shells per minute, while the guns of a German army corps could hurl only 48,769 kilograms per minute. This in turn means that the Germans could fire eight salvos per minute, while the Red Army could fire 9.3 salvos per minute, which shows that the Soviet artillery was not only more numerous (and/or of greater caliber) than the German artillery, but also had a higher rate of fire.

For the first time in its history the Soviet Union (and Russia) had been equipped with superior weapons in greater quantities. The past tense is used here because the figures correspond to 1938-39 when Hitler had not yet taken complete possession of such great gun works as Skoda (Czechoslovakia), Schneider-Creusot (France), Bofors (Sweden, which he virtually controls), Terni (Italy), and a great number of lesser works. It is quite possible, and even probable, that now the above-quoted ratio has been upset in Germany's favor.

Soviet artillery has so far given an excellent account of itself in all the wars the Soviet Union had to fight. At Hassan the Japanese themselves testified that Soviet gunners had completely razed the tops of the Bezymiannaya and Zaozernaia hills. At Nomonhan they complained that Soviet gunners were picking off targets like sharpshooters bringing down clay pigeons. In Finland Soviet artillery set new standards for artillery preparation of the attack on fortified zones. The forts of the Mannerheim Line were virtually uprooted and thrown out of line by Soviet guns which "simply" churned up the earth around them. The Germans learned a lesson there and used it against the Maginot Line. Only they were shooting at the moribund fortifications of a moribund army while the Soviet gunners had to blast a fortified line which was very much alive and kicking.

IN THIS WAR Soviet artillery has shown its quality especially in the sieges of Leningrad, Odessa, Hangoe, and the Islands of Oesel and Dago. It is clear that artillery plays a role of utmost importance during sieges. This is why the work of the Soviet gunners is especially outstanding in those instances.

The battle of Elnia, where eight German divisions were annihilated, is of particular importance. Here the Red Army encircled the German pocket jutting out toward Moscow and began squeezing it at its root, until only a passage some five miles wide was left connecting the two German army corps around Elnia with their rear. This passage, or *defile,* was lined with Soviet artillery on both sides. After that the Red Army began a concerted attack at the spot where the pivot of maneuver had been before and began forcing the German divisions through the narrow bottleneck where the Soviet artillery simply made mincemeat of them. This is a very interesting case of the creation of an "artillery wringer." It is similar to pushing meat into a chopping machine instead of simply chopping it with a cleaver.

Soviet anti-aircraft artillery has won for itself not only recognition by British experts, but it has demonstrated its ability to protect the vital centers of the Soviet Union (including Moscow, which seems practically immune to mass raids), sharing the honors with the Red night fighters. All foreign correspondents who have been at the Eastern Front agree that Soviet artillery has displayed a high degree of efficiency and coordination. But the best testimony of all comes from the German prisoners who all repeat the same phrase: "The Russian artillery drives us completely crazy." And so an old and venerable tradition, nurtured and developed by modern and efficient technology, is proving its worth under difficult and trying circumstances.

COLONEL T.

Shostakovitch from Leningrad

Moscow (by cable).

MY DEAR friends! I speak to you from Leningrad, at whose gates fierce fighting is going on at this very moment. The sky above Leningrad is alive with the incessant zooming of our patrol planes. I am speaking from the front. Yesterday morning I completed the score of the second movement of my new symphony. If this work is a success, if I can manage to finish the third and fourth movements, I shall be able to call it my seventh symphony. Two movements are ready. I have been working on it since July. That is rather fast work for symphony writing. I am telling you this because I want everyone to know that the danger threatening Leningrad hasn't stopped its creative life. We are now not merely citizens; we are defenders of our city. Everyone is doing his bit to defend Leningrad. The city's cultural workers are doing their duty along with all other citizens.

I was born in Leningrad. I have lived here all my life, and that is why I feel the tenseness of the moment so keenly. All my life has been associated with Leningrad. Leningrad is my native city—my home. I know that many thousands of Leningrad people feel as I do, that they share my boundless love for our native town, for its indescribably lovely squares and buildings. This love for Leningrad has grown deeper and keener in these days of trial. And when I walk along the streets of our city, I am overwhelmed by a feeling of complete certainty that Leningrad will always adorn the banks of the Neva, as it does today; that Leningrad will always be a mighty bulwark of our country; that it will go on adding to its achievements in all spheres of human culture.

My dear comrades in arms, my friends. Remember that our country, our life, our art, is in grave danger. This danger can be summed up in one word: Hitler. Let us then defend our country, our life, our music! Let each one of us work selflessly and honestly at his post. Before long I shall finish my seventh symphony. Work goes easily and swiftly these days. My mind is clear and my energy impels me forward. And when I finish my symphony and present it for your approval, I shall impatiently await your severe and friendly criticism of work begun and ended in the days of a great, patriotic war, in the days of the great defense of Leningrad.

DIMITRI SHOSTAKOVITCH.

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HOW LONG SHALL HE WAIT?

They came from all over America to urge the freedom of Earl Browder. Paul Robeson sings "The Purest Kind of a Guy." A great campaign begins.

THE multitude was impatient.

They came to the Garden—father, mother, son, daughter—and he wasn't there in that great forum where so often he had held them rapt, intent on every word, following his quiet, inexorable logic. It is six months now, six long months. Months as big as years, months like decades.

And something big began there in Madison Square Garden last Monday night. "With this meeting," the chairman said, "the Citizen's Committee to Free Earl Browder opens its national drive for his release." Men of all faiths and political persuasions, men from all the Americas, declared themselves for Earl Browder—pleaded that he be freed from his prison cell in Atlanta.

You sensed something big the moment you entered the hall. There was a monolithic quality about the audience which packed the house to the rafters and reacted to the issues as one man. About the time that Paul Robeson sang his magnificent "Joe Hill" I thought what a pity that the jury which convicted Browder was not on hand to see all this. What the twelve good men and true would have found here would have provided them with plenty of food for thought. "What kind of man was this we sent to Atlanta?" They would have marveled at the love he evoked. It was expressed more tangibly, more eloquently at this meeting Monday night than ever before. It was well-nigh irresistible. It must be the times, I thought, the realization that a nation in peril requires its greatest leaders free to lead. That accounted for the sense of impatience I felt in the crowd.

They were aware of the urgency of the moment. They knew the country needed a pulling together, a unity such as it has never before achieved, and they knew he was the man to pitch in on such a job. But, as Max Yergan, president of the National Negro Congress, said, "That patient, wise, gentle, good man, that strong and effective man sits tonight in a prison cell."

Enough is enough, the crowd felt. Their instinct, their logic rebelled at the waste of a great man. And this is no time for waste. The result was a great meeting. Meetings often take on the qualities of a symphony—they have moods and movements, they rise to crescendo, fall to pianissimo. Such a meeting was this. It resounded with fight, yet it had moments of infinite tenderness, moments when men brushed the tears away, moments when Paul Robeson sang his "Hello to the Purest Kind of a Guy," moments when the singer brought the titanic conflict of the Eastern Front into the meeting with his songs of the Don, and heightened the urgency of the time.

There were men here of all colors and from many lands, all pulling the same way. What would the Browder jury have thought when the Chilean congressman, Salvador Ocampo, crossed the stage with an armload of roses, "flowers from the women and children of Chile to the family of Earl Browder"?

What would they have thought when they saw the little irrepressible watchmaker of San Francisco, Warren K. Billings, who could still smile boyishly after twenty-two years in prison, who flew here to help free a man the "country needs in the fight against Hitler." Billings wanted him free, too, because he had a sort of personal debt to pay: "Earl Browder was ever in the forefront of the fight to free Tom Mooney and myself."

What would the jurymen have felt about the magnificent response to Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, who appealed for funds to carry on the campaign?

What would the jury have thought when the cablegrams were read from hard, stern men at sea in the submarine-infested waters off Portugal, the seamen just in from "fascist-controlled Shanghai," the marine workers of San Antonio, of Galveston? What would they have thought when the greetings were read from the thirteen members of the cast of *Native Son*? "We want him free despite our differing political beliefs," they wired. So widespread was the response, nobody could believe Communists alone favored the freedom of Earl Browder. The setup of the Citizens Committee disproves that. In addition to Tom Mooney, the chairman, the committee includes Robert Morss Lovett, Josephine Truslow Adams, Dr. W. E. B. DuBois, Rep. Vito Marcantonio, Col. Charles Erskine Scott Wood, James Waterman Wise, Arturo Giovannitti, and others. Scores of AFL and CIO locals have wired the President urging that Earl Browder be freed.

MANY WANT him freed out of a traditional sense of fair play, feeling that he was convicted on a tissue weight technicality and was put in prison only because he was a Communist leader. Others want him liberated because they believe that six months is long enough to hold a man in jail on a charge so far-fetched, particularly since ninety-five percent of similar cases resulted in a thirty-day sentence or a light fine.

But there are multitudes who want him freed because they feel that the cause of national unity will be served by his presence on the political scene. That viewpoint was most eloquently expressed by Cong. Vito Marcantonio. "Mr. President," he said, addressing himself to the Chief Executive, "the Browder case is one of political persecution . . . the continued incarceration of Earl Browder is demanded by the enemies of national defense and national unity; continued persecution of the secretary general of the Communist Party is comfort to the appeasers and to those who are fostering the plans of Nazi world domination." Mr. Marcantonio thereupon requested the President "in the interests of national defense and national unity" to extend executive clemency immediately to Earl Browder.

Symbolic of the unity growing about the case was the presence on the platform of Conrad Kaye, secretary-treasurer of the Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Workmen's Union, Local 623, of the AFL. He recounted the AFL's record in the long, grueling fights for the Haymarket martyrs, for Moyer-Haywood-Pettibone, for Eugene V. Debs. "The AFL, too," he said, "wants Browder liberated."

He catechized the audience. "Is Earl Browder an anti-fascist?" The crowd thundered "Yes."

"Does he subscribe to the President's foreign policy of all-out aid to Great Britain, the Soviet Union, and all countries fighting fascism?"

Again the thunder of affirmation.

"Then he should be freed," he declared.

This was the great gist of the meeting. It began something that every man of good will wishes to further. The multitude is impatient and time presses hard. That "patient, wise, gentle, good man" waits in his far-off prison cell. How long shall he wait?

JOSEPH NORTH.

Arming the Ships

THE great majority of Americans who are pledged to the defeat of Hitler, who support the administration's policy of utmost aid to nations fighting the Axis, are bound to support President Roosevelt's stand for repeal or revision of the Neutrality Act, particularly as it applies to the arming of merchant ships. For what good is it to issue defies to Hitler, to send cargoes to our allies, if the ships carrying those cargoes go unprotected? The recent Nazi sinking of the *Pink Star,* under Panamanian registry but United States-owned, is, as the President said, only one more incident in Hitler's campaign. To counter it, Mr. Roosevelt proposes to arm not only our merchant vessels but those of the Latin American republics. Senator McKellar of Tennessee has already introduced a bill to repeal the Neutrality Act completely, thereby permitting us to send supplies to the Soviet Union and Britain in our own vessels, as well as to arm those vessels. Repeal of the act is more sensible than piecemeal revision. Passed in 1935, it has served to bar effective American aid to Spain and Ethiopia in their resistance to Axis aggression. It must not be permitted to interfere now with our cooperation in the most tremendous resistance of all.

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MORE AND FASTER

Defense production requires urgent overhauling to give labor equality with management. Time works for those who use it. The critical need for greater military collaboration and material assistance. An editorial.

AN EXTRAORDINARY thing happened in Detroit last week. A congressional committee investigating the problem of labor migration caused by the defense program was holding a hearing. In the chair before the committee members sat a big, earnest-looking man. He spoke critically of the way the auto industry has participated in the defense program. "Why is it," he said, "that the contribution from this major industrial power to our national defense program has been, comparatively speaking, negligible?" He went on to give the answers, to indict the auto companies because of their refusal "to prepare adequately for national defense." The witness was R. J. Thomas, president of the United Automobile Workers, CIO. And so effective was his testimony that the top executive officer of General Motors, C. E. Wilson, rushed over to the hearing that afternoon in an effort to counteract Thomas' charges.

What made this incident extraordinary was that a representative of labor was appearing before a congressional body to discuss not labor problems in the narrow sense, but fundamental problems of production and the national defense. In other words, the auto workers through their elected leader were serving notice that they do not intend to leave the solution of these problems entirely to the big-shot industrialists who have had a monopoly of these matters and have bungled badly.

Thomas' indictment of the auto companies deserves serious study. If the situation in that industry is representative of other major sections of American industry—and there is reason to believe that it is—drastic measures will have to be taken before this country becomes in fact as well as in name the "arsenal of democracy." And for this the labor movement itself, AFL, CIO, and the railroad brotherhoods, requires a boldness, an initiative, a statesmanship that will command attention and win for labor that full partnership in the defense effort which is indispensable for victory.

The fact is that there is a dangerous complacency in high places. It is reflected in the meagerness of aid to the Soviet Union, Britain, and China. It is reflected in such a proposal as that of Walter Lippmann for the demobilization of a large part of our army. It is reflected in a recent column of Anne O'Hare McCormick in the New York *Times* in which she looked forward placidly to Hitler's conquering the whole of European Russia, convinced that even if the worst happens, "Russia remains impregnable in Asia." It is reflected in our own government's dilatory approach to the Moscow conference and in the lingering hesitations and subterfuges in our war policy. We are definitely in the war and have been at least since the passage of the lend-lease act. The only question is whether we are going to wage war effectively or ineffectively. Up till now our war effort on both the military and production fronts has—to put it mildly—fallen far short of maximum effectiveness. And it must be remembered that being the "arsenal of democracy" is not enough; our full military collaboration with the other anti-axis nations is required to defend America.

This is a war of machines and its ultimate decision lies in the factories. The Soviet Union standing alone cannot outproduce or even equal the war production of Germany, plus Italy, France, Czechoslovakia, Belgium, and the other conquered countries. The marvel is that facing such heavy odds, and despite the loss of important industrial resources, the Red Army has been able to hold back the invader so well. But to make possible continued resistance and to turn the tide against Hitler much more is needed, both in the way of opening new fronts and of material assistance. Together the Soviet Union, the United States, and Britain can definitely outproduce Germany, its allies and the conquered countries. However, it is not potential, future superiority that counts, but immediate superiority. While British production leaves much to be desired, there is no use blinking the fact that the big weakness lies in the country with the mightiest industrial plant in the world, the United States. We have it in our power to deal the knockout blow to Hitlerism, but not if we take precious months and years to wind up. As Dorothy Thompson so well put it in a recent column: "Time is not on our side. Time is neutral. . . . Time is on the side of the people who use it, and use it most efficiently."

ONE WAY to use time most efficiently is to adopt the proposal which has been endorsed by Representative Andrew J. May, chairman of the House Military Affairs Committee, that for the next three months 100 percent of our war production be sent to the USSR and Britain. That is common sense. The mortal foe of America is today striking at us via Leningrad and Kharkov and London. We cannot strike at him by keeping supplies at home; they should be sent to the fronts, not merely for three months, but as long as necessary.

Above all: to use time efficiently means to win the battle of production—not in 1943 and 1944 (it may be too late then), but in 1941 and 1942. That is the most important argument for the active participation of labor in the organization of production, in the planning and direction of the entire defense effort. Instead of the head of the auto workers' union and the president of General Motors flinging charges and counter-charges at each other, they ought to be sitting down together and working out plans for shifting all possible plant facilities into defense production with a minimum loss of time and jobs. They ought to be coordinating their efforts with similar plans in other industries under the general direction of an overall board in which management and labor would be equally represented. This is in essence what President Philip Murray of the CIO has proposed. The British have just gotten a glimpse of what it means to enlist the enthusiasm and initiative of the workers when Tanks for Russia Week boosted tank production twenty percent. That is a signpost for us.

But the unions themselves cannot wait till the employers and the government invite them in. National defense is not an exclusive club, but must become in every sense of, for and by the people. During the past week three more unions, the Transport Workers Union, the Industrial Union of Marine and Shipbuilding Workers, and the State, County and Municipal Workers of America, at their annual conventions, went on record for aid to Britain, the Soviet Union, and the other nations fighting Hitlerism. That is all to the good. But the time has come when something more is needed. If, for example, the leaders of the shipbuilding workers' union had spent less time Red-baiting and denying elementary trade union rights to anyone who can be labeled a Communist, and devoted some attention to the problem of getting toegther with the employers on plans for building more and better ships, they would have given real substance to their resolution on aiding the USSR and Britain. In contrast, another CIO union, the United Radio, Electrical and Machine Workers, by arranging conferences with small manufacturers to increase production and lessen priorities unemployment, has shown how labor can make a constructive contribution to the defense program.

The eyes of the world are on America. For too many years we have left it to other countries to bear the brunt of the battle against fascism. Today we can no longer leave it to other countries without betraying our own. Procrastination is the ally of Hitler. We must strike and strike with all our might while the Red Army still stands as our bastion on a 2,000-mile front, while the British people continue to challenge the Nazi fury in the west, while China fights on with unflagging strength, while the conquered nations build an inferno behind the German lines. We must strike with all our might while the peoples of the world still can raise up an unconquerable force of men and arms to destroy the Nazi monster. To delay is to fight alone and to be crushed.

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NEW MASSES

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BARBARA GILES, A. B. MAGIL, RUTH McKENNEY, BRUCE MINTON, JOSEPH NORTH, JOSEPH STAROBIN, JOHN STUART

Business Manager
CARL BRISTEL

★

Moscow Conference

THE best proof of what the Soviet people expect from the conference with the American and British missions now in Moscow, is the kind of men they have selected to represent them. Statesmen like Molotov, the highest military and naval officials like Voroshilov and Kuznetzov, the most responsible directors of Soviet economy like Mikoyan—and Stalin himself—have been meeting all week with Lord Beaverbrook, Averill Harriman, and their associates. There is no question at all that the Russians mean business, and expect to find the British and American delegates in the same mood. There is every reason to expect Britain and the USA will begin to contribute their share—in some measure equal to what the Soviet people have already contributed to the defeat of German fascism.

MEANWHILE in London the other day there was a conference of some nine governments in exile, plus the Soviet Union, to discuss the problem of postwar organization. It was really a followup on the eight-point program which Mr. Roosevelt and Mr. Churchill formulated in their Atlantic meeting. The participation of the Soviet ambassador eliminates all the suspicious talk, for example, from the New York *Times* that the Soviet government might find its own aims at variance with those of the Atlantic Charter.

Two things about the inter-allied meeting in London nevertheless deserve criticism. First, it was disappointing to find that the United States, whose President helped formulate the eight points, was not represented. This reflects the fact that America is not as intimately involved in the war as it should be. So, also, the failure to invite China and Ethiopia—both sovereign nations—reflects the fact that these two great representatives of Africa and Asia have still not been admitted into full partnership in the anti-fascist world alliance.

Secondly, it strikes us as inherently unrealistic to be formulating overelaborate plans for the postwar period at a time when not enough is being done to win the war. The Soviet ambassador, Ivan Maisky, put his finger on these abstract concerns with an abstract future when he told the gathering of scientists: "We should not lose sight of distant aims and tasks, but we should not forget that good English expression—first things first."

That should be the slogan for Mr. Harriman in Moscow—"first things first."

How the Front Looks

THE military news last week was a tribute to the tenacity of the Soviet fighting forces, their remarkable capacity to hold on and fight back more strongly than ever in the face of reverses. As a whole, the Soviet position is still as difficult as it was ten days ago when the Germans broke through at Kiev and the middle Dnieper. The drive into the farther Ukraine and the fierce struggle for the Crimea continue to represent a major menace, threatening the Donetz industrial region and the gateways to the Caucasus. That fact must be kept uppermost in mind, even though Marshal Budenny seems to have withdrawn most of his armies intact, fighting back around Poltava, and even though news from other sectors of the front is encouraging.

At Leningrad and Odessa the invader is definitely being held off. The citizens of these besieged cities are giving an unparalleled example of an "active defense." Production continues; supplies come in by sea, rail, and air; in Leningrad there is a distinct possibility that the enemy's hold on the east bank of the Neva, at Schluesselburg, is being weakened. So also, the very important Soviet Navy keeps punching both in the Black Sea and the Baltic.

Yet, in any balanced judgment of the military news, one must return to the Ukraine. The situation is difficult enough to make necessary the most immediate assistance from Britain and the United States. Soviet productive capacity has been definitely lowered; in the decree which inaugurates universal military training, beginning October 1, the Supreme Soviet frankly declares that its losses in men have been "serious." It may make the difference of millions of lives, if, by rushing help we can keep the Nazis out of the Don region and the foothills of the Caucasus.

Europe Versus Hitler

MERELY by adding up the news events, as reported in the press, you get a sense of the trouble Hitler is having in Europe. Entire populations are in direct resistance to Germany, and in some places like Serbia, open warfare against Hitler has already begun.

There was, for example, what the Nazis called a "twenty-four hour outbreak" at Lille, the important industrial town of northern France in the occupied region. Twenty hostages were shot by the Germans.

In Czechoslovakia Hitler has been compelled to remove his governor, von Neurath; one of Himmler's cronies, a certain Reinhard Heydrich, has taken his place. The premier of the so-called Czech government, General Elias, has been arrested for plotting an uprising. Civil siege has been declared in most of Bohemia and Moravia, and reports are that production in the vast Skoda munitions works has been cut to forty percent by the workers' slow-motion tactics.

In Yugoslavia both Serbs and Croatians are now admittedly in open revolt. The puppet regime in Croatia was compelled to execute fifty people in reprisal for the recent bombing of the Zagreb telephone exchange. Some 12,000 Serb guerrillas, known as *Chetniki,* were reported fighting the Croatian puppet troops, repeatedly cutting the rail lines between the Croatian capital and Sarajevo. In Rome it was officially admitted that Italian troops have taken a hand in this fighting. The German command has been compelled to send a division, and the Luftwaffe has been bombing the mountain villages in which the guerrilla fighters are entrenched.

Dispatches from Rome reveal the hard lot of the Italian people in the New Order. Bread and cornmeal are being rationed, so severe has the shortage of foodstuffs become. From Norway comes an item which reveals the plight of both the conquered and the conqueror: all woolen blankets have been requisitioned from the population for the use of the German army.

Judge Sears Reports

THE conspiracy against Harry Bridges has now reached its ugly climax in the report of Judge Charles B. Sears, special examiner in the case, recommending the deportation of the West Coast labor leader. This decision is based on two contentions, neither of which is supported by the evidence: that Bridges has been a member of or "affiliated" with the Communist Party, and that the Communist Party advocates the overthrow of the government by force and violence. The broad grounds on which Judge Sears reached the conclusion that Bridges has been a member or "affiliate" of the Communist Party constitute a direct threat to the entire trade union movement and to basic civil liberties. The very term "affiliate" is of the kind through which a team of horses could be driven.

As further evidence of Bridges' "Communism" Judge Sears declared: "He has consistently favored non-discrimination against union men because of Communist membership and excoriated 'Red-baiters' as he called those who took an opposite view." Now it so happens that many unions bar discrimination because of political belief. By Judge Sears' test every non-citizen who approves of such a provision in his union constitution is, ipso facto, a member or "affiliate" of the Communist Party and liable to deportation.

The fact is that Judge Sears based his decision not on an impartial review of the evidence, but on the perjured statements of stoolpigeons and other enemies of labor. It was precisely this type of witness who was excoriated mercilessly by Dean James M. Landis of Harvard Law School when he dismissed charges against Bridges in 1939.

The Sears report strikes at the foundations of national unity and brings joy to every appeaser and friend of Hitler. The administration has given comfort to the worst enemies of democracy by its persecution of one of America's outstanding labor leaders. We are confident that the trade unions and anti-fascists throughout the country will meet this challenge by redoubling the fight to prevent the deportation of Harry Bridges.

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FIGHTING WORDS

Bernard Smith's anthology of writings on American democracy is a dynamic expression of popular struggles. From the "Mayflower Compact" to "The People, Yes." A review by Samuel Sillen.

THE DEMOCRATIC SPIRIT, *edited by Bernard Smith. Alfred A. Knopf. $5.*

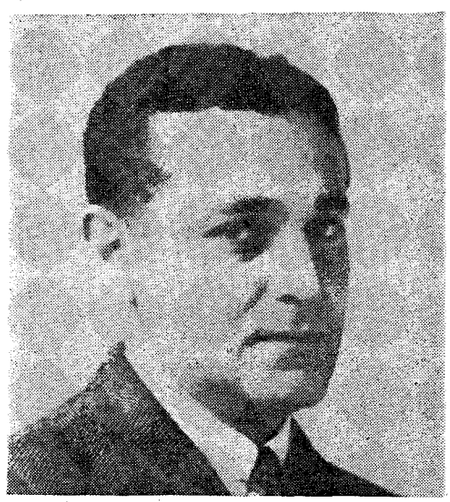
BERNARD SMITH'S collection of American writings begins with the *Mayflower Compact* and ends with Carl Sandburg's *The People, Yes.* Three centuries separate these great documents of democracy. Between them stretch the crowded and turbulent years in which our people hacked their way across formidable frontiers. Not only the seas and not only the forests challenged the ingenuity, courage, and vision of the people. There were also social frontiers to be cleared, and frontiers of thought. On all sides difficulties, no less real than the endlessly unfolding opportunities. In one period, the despotic monarchies of Europe; in another, the slaveholder; in another the financial oligarchy. And in the vanguard of the people, the rebel Puritan and rebel Continental, the Abolitionist, the socialist—the spokesman and architect of the future.

What unites these centuries? Why are we willing to fight and if need be die for their heritage? What is their precious essence? These are urgent questions. Unless we understand, clearly and soberly, what it is we are defending, we shall waver in our purpose, falter in our effort. A volume like *The Democratic Spirit* is therefore not only timely; it is necessary. And we may be grateful that it has been edited with such careful scholarship and sound judgment. While noting certain disagreements with the editor's choice of selections, one must recognize that the book is by far the most satisfactory anthology of American writings and a distinguished contribution to the defense of democracy.

The phrase "democratic spirit" does not adequately describe the essence of these essays, stories, poems, plays, and orations. It is a little too aloof somehow. It makes our history seem a little too easy. For ours is a history of struggle, continuous and bitter struggle, often against appalling odds, for freedom and equality and abundance. The democratic *struggle*—that is the story of our past, as its continuation is the task of our own day and its fulfillment in socialism the promise of our future. It is a struggle which assumes different forms in different periods. One must appraise it in the light of swiftly changing historical conditions. But always one senses conflict. Each period is illuminated only when one grasps the character and relationship of the forces seeking to impede and those seeking to advance progress.

As one reads the impassioned testimony of Roger Williams and Jonathan Mayhew, of Sam Adams and Thomas Paine, of Parker and Douglass and Lincoln, one realizes again that they were men fighting. The written and spoken word is not a passive reflection of a particular period in history. It is not a mere echo of a rigidly determined world. The last speech of John Brown or the last letters of Sacco and Vanzetti, properly represented in this volume, are instruments of democratic struggle. They are instruments not merely in the sense that they influence people to think and act in behalf of democratic ends; that is only part of their historical function. They are, just as profoundly, instruments in the sense that through them the will of struggling humanity finds a voice. Orestes A. Brownson's *The Laboring Classes* and Whitman's *Democratic Vistas,* Bellamy's *Looking Backward* and Bourne's *The War and the Intellectuals* are dynamic expressions of a movement of the people. They are charged with desire. They are literary vehicles of the transforming influences in society. And despite differences in form or in adequacy of understanding, they share a common trait. They are alive with the heartbeat of underprivileged groups fighting to end privilege.

We sometimes forget that history, for a time at least, might have gone another way. In each period the future had to be *won.* And in each period the men of progress looked back to their predecessors for inspiration and wisdom. As we read Roger Williams' *The Bloody Tenent of Persecution for Cause of Conscience* (1644), or *The Journal of John Woolman* (1774), or William Cullen Bryant's *The Right of Workmen to Strike* (1836), we are impressed with the truth that the ideas of these men first presented themselves as "minority" or "dissenting" opinions.



Bernard Smith

It was not preordained that these defamed "minority" men of one moment should so quickly, in these revolutionary centuries, have become the recognized spokesmen of our national ideals. The logic of history is not an iron necessity over which man has no control. He is a part of that logic, and his ideas and action help remold it. The abolition of Negro slavery, it is true, would have been impossible without the maturing of certain economic conditions; but neither would it have taken place automatically without the simultaneous maturing of human beings, the embattled heroism of the Negro and white masses and their leaders.

What one realizes more and more deeply in reading these selections from our literature is the quantity of sheer effort, of suffering and sacrifice, which has gone into the fight for democracy. Every step forward has been hard and perilous. For Roger Williams, this struggle meant banishment from Massachusetts. For Lovejoy it meant murder by a lynch mob in Alton, Illinois. For John Brown it meant the gallows, for Sacco and Vanzetti the electric chair. And yet these men do not require our tears. They were not helpless "martyrs," and suffering was not its own reward. Always, without fail, their words and deeds blossomed in millions of hearts, an indestructible portion of the American fight for freedom.

That fight has always been waged for concrete realities, not for abstract words. It has become fashionable of late to bemoan the confusion which exists over the term democracy. And there is no doubt that its demagogic use has tended to corrupt the term. Not everybody who talks about heaven is going to get there, and a lot of people who talk democracy are heading for fascism. Yet there is little excuse for confusion if one studies the historical record as interpreted in scores of documents contained in this book. There are certain persistent aspirations which cut across the years.

One of these has been the dream and effort of our noblest minds to wipe out the loathsome blot of racial discrimination and oppression. We get the first expression of it, personal, somewhat confused, cloaked in Biblical quotations, in an anti-slavery work like Samuel Sewall's *The Selling of Joseph* (1700). The voice grows stronger and surer in the Quaker John Woolman. It is echoed by our early political leaders: Jefferson in his letter to Edward Coles, Franklin in his *On the Slave Trade.* And then our poets, Bryant, Whittier, Lowell, unite with Garrison as he proclaims, "Cost what it may, every slave on

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the American soil must be liberated." As the movement against slavery becomes the issue which dominates all others in America, Emerson, Douglass, Thoreau, Phillips, and Lincoln pronounce the irresistible will of the masses. And the fight for complete and final freedom, not yet won, is carried on in Du Bois, Langston Hughes, Richard Wright, and other Negro writers who appear in the latter part of this volume. And who, studying this historical progression, can fail to realize that what democracy, the fulfillment of democracy, has meant for our people is total and unqualified emancipation?

Democracy means, as it meant for Lincoln when he discussed the Know-Nothing movement with Joshua F. Speed, complete liberty for immigrants and for religious minorities. It means, as it meant for Wendell Phillips in his oration on *The Murder of Lovejoy,* freedom of the press for any individual or group exercising constitutional rights. It means free schools, and free trade unions, and free political parties.

It means the general welfare; that is to say, the satisfaction of the people's economic needs, and not the enrichment of a handful at the expense of the millions who create wealth. That is not heresy. It is good sound American doctrine which may be traced in these pages. It may be found in Melville's *Poor Man's Pudding and Rich Man's Crumbs,* or in William Dean Howells' *A Hazard of New Fortunes,* or in Jack London's *What Life Means to Me.* Only to the degree that we have departed from this sound doctrine will its advocates seem heretical.

For we cannot have our democracy in the past and turn our backs to it in the present. That is, in effect, the desire of a reviewer like Simeon Strunsky of the New York *Times,* who objects to the inclusion of Michael Gold's *Jews Without Money* in this collection. But why not object equally to the inclusion of Melville's satiric portrait of the contrast between poverty and wealth in *his* time? The condition which Melville portrayed has not disappeared. Death is a high price for respectability.

No, Bernard Smith is entirely right in presenting selections from such writers as Erskine Caldwell, Clifford Odets, Leane Zugsmith, Albert Maltz, Richard Wright, John Steinbeck, and Lillian Hellman in the last sections of his book. They deserve inclusion for two reasons. Their work, as represented here, has high literary distinction. And the attitudes which give life to their work carries on the democratic struggle in the spirit of the earlier writers. The Red-baiting contentions of James Truslow Adams, in his *Saturday Review of Literature* attack on the book, and of Ralph Thompson in the New York *Times,* merely confirm the fact that the issues of democracy are as vital today as in any period of our history. It takes little imagination to realize what the Tory reviewers of Paine's day would have said regarding the Abolitionist section. Only those who press on the frontiers of progress in any period can truly be called the leading representatives of the democratic idea, and only those who shrink from the implications of our traditions will denounce these representatives as "Jacobins," "Negrophiles," "Reds."

It is possible, as a matter of fact, to find some quarrel with Bernard Smith from an opposite point of view. No anthology, of course, can meet everybody's taste in every single respect. There are bound to be omissions of many deserving writers because of space requirements, and there is little point in matching favorite for favorite. But I do think that certain disagreements of judgment should be stated here. For one thing, it would have been desirable to include a representative working class leader from the early labor movement, such as Seth Luther or William Sylvis, Thomas Skidmore or George Henry Evans. As it is, Smith places the emphasis almost exclusively on intellectual figures like Theodore Parker or William Ellery Channing, fine as their utterances were. This emphasis becomes serious, however, when Smith fails to include Eugene V. Debs, except indirectly through a column by Heywood Broun. In his speeches Debs stirred the masses as few other men before him. His importance for the development of American democracy was undeniably great. Why then his omission? And particularly in view of the fact that Grover Cleveland, who sent troops to break up the railway strike led by Debs, is represented by a message to Congress. This message, incidentally, is given an interpretation which it does not merit. It is more closely allied to the demagogy of those who have in deed abandoned democracy than it is to the genuine aspirations of the masses.

Certainly it is regrettable that the writings of Earl Browder are not represented in the latter portion of the book. "The 'left,' " says Smith in his introduction, "has helped to broaden and extend democracy in America." True. Where then is the man who has for some years been the most articulate and energetic spokesman against fascism in this country? And particularly where, since there is place for Lewis Mumford's *Faith for Living,* which was a distinctly undemocratic statement of its time, and room for Christian Gauss and Henry Seidel Canby? History will smilingly correct the perspective.

Granting the presence of such errors, the book remains, as I have said, the most thoughtful, comprehensive, and principled anthology of American democratic writings which I know. Readers of Vernon Louis Parrington's *Main Currents in American Thought* will find here represented many of the basic works studied in that monumental book. *The Democratic Spirit* gives the vital and often eloquent evidence of the fact that, in the words of the editor, "The people of America have dignity and they are ready to fight for their rights, their liberties, and their needs." We are ready today as the masses of our people have always

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been ready. "Give me liberty or give me death," Patrick Henry exclaimed when it was treasonable to do so. "Peace, peace, peace—but there is no peace. The war is actually begun! The next gale that sweeps from the north will bring to our ears the clash of resounding arms! Our brethren are already in the field! Why stand we here so idle? What is it that gentlemen wish? What would they have? Is life so dear, or peace so sweet, as to be purchased at the price of chains and slavery? Forbid it, Almighty God." These remarks were delivered in March 1775 to the Virginia Convention when the aristocrats opposed the organization of a company of militia to act against the tyranny of armed might from abroad. And these words of fierce pride and unbending devotion to the popular cause have echoed through our history. In the war of which we are part, with our brethren already in the field, the great voices of American democracy assume a reality and significance which we dare not ignore.

SAMUEL SILLEN.

Tobacco Tale

FIRST, THE FIELDS, *by Charles Wood. University of North Carolina Press. $2.50.*

CHARLES WOODS' novel *First, the Fields* marks a pioneering venture into a region that has had little or no realistic treatment in American fiction: the tobacco-growing country of the South Atlantic seaboard. Having just returned from a visit to the Sligo area of North Carolina where Woods places his story, the book struck me with particular force. It carries the lush, earthy smell of tobacco acres, the slow, passionate rhythm of a life smoldering under the dry rot of monopoly, yet continually breaking through, often in blind rage.

The story centers around Hugh Winton, who is the fiery son of a long line of well-to-do tobacco growers. Hugh's love for Helen Galloway, daughter of a ne'er do-well tenant farmer, is blighted by caste differences and his own high-handed passion. Hugh turns with grim vigor to his fight to hold his land. He makes a "suitable" middle class marriage; but Nancy, his wife, soon comes to despise their hard struggle against drought, the auction block, and the monopoly octopus. The banks suck in farm after farm. Hugh manages to hold on. Faced with ruin, he joins with other middle farmers who stake everything on their marketing cooperative. Their co-op succeeds until the tobacco trust fosters corruption from within. Disaster follows: Hugh loses his farm and his marriage breaks up, after an abortive affair with his first love, Helen. He is accused (wrongly) of the murder of Helen's degenerate brother, Lonnie. After his acquittal Hugh turns to the escapes of hunting and drink. The book ends in a mood of despair and total dissolution.

"*First, the Fields* is not autobiographical," the author states, "but it tells what might have happened to me if I had stayed on the farm." This statement is a key to the novel's major strength, and its limitation. Given a theme that might have reached epic proportions, the book is robbed of its proper scope by the author's identifying himself too completely with his middle farmer hero, Hugh Winton. Hugh Winton's strength derives from his roots in the land, but his outlook is the prejudiced, narrowing one of his middle class heritage. Neither Winton nor the author really understands the Negro croppers who work for the Wintons, or their poor-white tenant farmer neighbors. Woods views the Negroes in mythical style as a childlike people who have no care for the morrow, leaving that to their struggling landlords, like the more spirited, hard-pressed Wintons. In one place the author suggests an analogy between the spirited horse (the farmer) who rebels against the bog into which he is being forced, and so in his anguished struggle perishes; and the plodding mule (croppers and day laborers) who accepts the mire blindly and survives. No picture of southern life could be further from the truth. Woods does not see that the middle farmer's doom can be averted by an alliance with city workers, small farmers, and sharecroppers. And in the basic rock-bottom strata of our southern people, Negro and white alike, there rests the will not only to survive but to struggle.

Since Woods lacks this comprehensive, deeper approach to his theme, his novel takes on an unnecessary fatalism: the defeatism typical of the middle farmer who is indeed trapped so long as he struggles alone, or only with others of his own status.

Nevertheless, in its pioneering and moving character, and its driving indictment of monopoly hold on America's tobacco fields, *First, the Fields* is a distinctly interesting first novel.

MYRA PAGE.

The Nazi "New Order"

THE SPOIL OF EUROPE, *by Thomas Reveille. W. W. Norton & Co. $2.75.*
THE MYTH OF THE TOTAL STATE, *by Guenther Reimann. William Morrow & Co. $2.75.*

IN FRANCE today, according to Thomas Reveille, the following definition of "economic collaboration" with Nazi Germany is popular: "Give me your watch and I'll tell you the time." It is witty but not too accurate. In effect, the Nazis really say, as *The Spoil of Europe* shows in impressive detail: "Give me your food and I'll let you starve. Give me your money and I'll make you penniless. Give me your factories and I'll worsen your conditions."

As long as the Reveille book sticks to the facts and describes the Nazi treatment of the conquered countries, it is on safe ground. Obviously its author, whose official position in some "government in exile" has obliged him to adopt a pseudonym, had an unusual opportunity to trace the lines of the Nazi "new order" in Europe and has put together more material on this enormously difficult

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problem than is available in any other single place. Unfortunately, from time to time he wanders off into untenable ground and unloads himself of irrelevant prejudices. He has discovered "the growing disgust of the masses of Europe against any form of Communism," in the face of admittedly Communist leadership of the anti-Nazi activity in the occupied countries, and "the relative impotence of the USSR," in the face of the Red Army's "magnificent strength and courage" as acknowledged by Winston Churchill.

That the Nazis are deliberately and rather speedily transforming the Europe which fell into their hands is no news. Their exact aims and methods are something else. By and large the Nazis are converting the countries of the old continent into new colonies. Colonization is no new thing but the colonization of European industrialized imperialist states, such as France, Belgium, and Holland, is. There are shades and differences in the Nazi scheme, as Reveille explains, and the mobilization of the details are his chief service to the newspaper reader as well as the specialist.

The Nazi empire in Europe is only a beginning in the goal of world domination but, for Hitler, it is the decisive step because "Europe constitutes the center of the world, around which all other areas revolve historically, culturally, economically, industrially, and militarily. At the same time the Nazis believe that Germany is the "hard and indissoluble" core of Europe. With Germany as a center, they are working outward according to a fixed plan. Their European blueprint calls for a Germany which has a monopoly of industrial and military power, and a series of concentric circles of vassal states which, in one degree or another, exist solely for the greater glory and protection of the Greater Reich.

Some of the conquered territory, such as Holland, parts of Poland, and prospective parts of Switzerland, will be incorporated into Germany proper. The first circle around Germany would consist of areas which are destined for the "exclusive settlement and possession by Germanic peoples," such as Bohemia-Moravia and non-German Poland. This monstrosity will require the ruthless transfer of populations and the virtual enslavement of the native majority by German overseers, but the Nazis hope to "Germanize" them eventually. The second circle, typified by Slovakia, would consist of "ethnically distinct" peoples in a sort of Vichyfied setup, formally independent but commanded from Berlin through a local fifth column of spies and traitors.

The author lingers a good deal on the medieval inspiration of the Nazi world order. Like the newly rich who want to marry a title, some Nazi theory spinners certainly adore the middle ages as the background of their own barbarism. But the analogy can be overworked. Imperialist states have always tried to limit the role of colonies to the production of raw materials and kept in their own hands the functions of industry and

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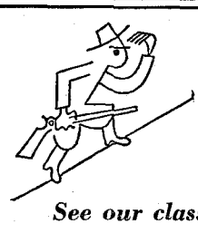
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finance and "defense." The Nazi state is the most extreme form of imperialism, for one thing, because it has conquered industrialized states and is forcing them to regress to the status of agrarian, backward, colonial areas.

In this respect *The Spoil of Europe* should be required reading for Senator Nye and his friends. Not only does it show what the Nazis have done, are doing, and will do, but it proves that the United States must reckon with the competition and conflict with the resources of a total Europe and not of Nazi Germany alone.

A VENOMOUS ATTITUDE toward the Soviet Union is about the only clear thing in Guenther Reimann's latest effort to explain the "total state." The rest, as Max Lerner admits in an "introductory critique," is "dense" in the sense that most of the ideas are unrealized. According to Reimann, the Nazis came to power because Germany was controlled by "national monopolies" based on the home market. Yet it is evident that they are trying to build up the greatest *international* monopoly the world has ever known. Reimann makes a too sharp separation of the two and never comes to grips with their vital interrelation. In reverse, he claims that the British appeasers were the imperialists with huge interests abroad whereas their opponents were entrenched in the national industries based on the home market. Yet the greatest appeaser of them all, Neville Chamberlain, was a Birmingham manufacturer. And his chief critic, Winston Churchill, was the leading example of empire-mindedness. Reimann also argues, this time with more plausibility, that the old imperialisms were able to create a "Conservative Man" who was fairly satisfied with his world, whereas the Nazis cannot create a stable state on a sound foundation because they cannot produce another edition of the "Conservative Man." The last portion of his book, however, is mainly devoted to "proving" that Stalin and Hitler are essentially similar. Its most amazing passage is a note in which Reimann remarks that the entire section was written before June 22, 1941, but that he did not think the news of that day was any reason for a revision of his position.

THEODORE DRAPER.

Hughes

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COMMUNIQUE FROM BROOKLYN

The Dodgers' victory celebration surpasses even the destruction of Pompeii. Three million otherwise quiet souls in a shout heard from Flatbush to San Diego. James Dugan writes from under the pop bottles.

Somewhere in Flatbush.

TONIGHT even the most case-hardened correspondents have taken to shelter. We sneered at the Cub bombardment, and walked openly in the streets while the Giants were overhead, but now that the Dodgers have taken the pennant from the Cardinals, it's worth your life to go into a public place in Brooklyn. The victory celebration surpasses the San Francisco earthquake, the Chicago fire, and the destruction of Pompeii. In a steady hail of flying beer mugs and falling citizens, your correspondent barely escaped with his life tonight as the news came of the great victory.

Safe in a deep shelter, and nursing only a few superficial backslap wounds, it is time to try to reckon the forces that accounted for the triumph.

This is the world's largest borough, where almost 3,000,000 souls have rankled under the indignity of not being a city. Brooklyn has been the object of coarse radio jokes and the Dodgers have managed to make Brooklyn a kind of suburb of America, something across the tracks from everyone. Wanting in most monuments of civic pride, such as bright lights, noted tombs, theaters, and skylines, Flatbush has fixed its injured pride and passion upon an eccentric baseball team known as the Dodgers.

The veneration of the Dodgers passes belief. Brooklyn citizens will murder, steal, perjure, toss away fine jobs, sink in alcohol, and compromise their home lives for the sake of the Dodgers. They have developed to a man and to a babe, a mass psychopathy. I have met sane, cultured citizens of Brooklyn, occupied at some useful scientific or philosophical task, who confess they would throw it all away if they could step up to the plate just once with the primordial scream of the bleachers in their ears and nick a home run off a Cardinal pitcher.

Two or three spasms of this Dodger spirit would work marvels back home in America if it were hitched up to the defense effort. If you could package it and pass it out in USO depots and feed pills of it to Walter Lippmann, the land would be spared much worry. Unfortunately the magic can't be exported from Flatbush. It would spoil irreparably on the long subway trip to the Polo Grounds, or Yankee Stadium, where the audience looks upon McCarthy's men with the impersonal respect of a traveler viewing the Ford Plant at River Rouge.

Brooklyn has come of age. The folk of Flatbush have at last raised Their Bums to the National League championship. The renowned Pharaohs could only build pyramids, and Job was patient for but seven lousy years. Flatbush has kept the faith for twenty-one years—since the series of 1920. A golden age dawns over New Lots Avenue and paints the inexhaustible brownstone pueblos outspread as far as the eye can reach from the littered verge of the Atlantic to the Navy Yard in the East River. The Dodgers have made Yankee Stadium. There'll be no holding Brooklyn.

I like the Dodgers, but I love their fans. Thomas Wolfe used to haunt Ebbets Field. He didn't know a bat from second base, and the technical jive that preoccupies Dodger idolaters was so much Sanskrit to him. But he loved the bleachers—the marksmen trying to intimidate umpires with pop bottles at 200 yards, the rooting clubs devoted to Dixie Walker or Fat Freddy Fitzsimmons, and the Fourth of July galas when Brooklyn attempted to rout the visiting club with firecrackers like big caliber trench mortars.

In the quaint garden of polo shirts, embracing the fine green grass with its interesting geometry, and the dramatic and puzzling struggle of the distant athletes, Wolfe found a vast excitement. The spectacle for him was the roaring, wriggling mass in the bleachers, the numberless and unknown citizenry who forgot unemployment and jobs alike in their ecstasy over the game.

Anywhere else the Dodgers would be just another ball club. In Sportsman's Park they would be colorless and Leo Durocher couldn't wake the press coop at Fenway Park with his agonized decibels. But the fans made the Dodgers: Brooklyn needed something to love and when it came along, Flatbush overwhelmed it with long-pent kisses.

The Dodgers are a spunky ball club and they have the damndest following in the known world. If you hailed a cab in Brooklyn during a Dodger broadcast, you had to agree to keep the game on the radio before the hackie would admit you. Take the draftee who worked out a legal loophole in the Selective Service Act so he could catch three more Dodger games before he joined the army. Or the draftee who carried so much Dodger propaganda to camp with him that his superiors paid his way back to the series to get some peace. Or the three Dodger fans, sitting before a delicatessen radio, when Red Barber said, "The umpire has just called a third strike on Medwick." The fans leaped to their feet and shrieked, "It was outside a mile!"

Aime

Now from the safety of my shelter as the festivities rage unabated, I must sound a sorry note. It is my conviction that the Yankees are going to kill Our Bums in the series. I say this after anguished soul writhings. I feel like a crumb.

But we must look at these things objectively. Contemplate Joe DiMaggio for instance. The Yanks wrapped up the American League flag early in September; since then DiMag has been lolling in bed, listening to *Joltin' Joe DiMaggio* on the radio, and gaining in strength and nastiness, while the ragged band from Brooklyn has had to battle obscure nines right down to the fag end of the season. Durocher lost twelve pounds shrilling at umpires on the road. On the eve of the series the Dodgers are ominously like the One Hoss Shay.

But when the awesome Yanks come striding into the arena on American League boots, Brooklyn will be there to put the evil eye on them. Witches' brew is being steeped on Pitkin Avenue and crude effigies of Yankee pitchers are being stuck with pins. Even tonight in the victory saturnalia one can hear apprehensive toasts of confusion to the foe on Coogan's Bluff; may Pee Wee Reese's spikes be sharp.

All of Brooklyn's millions, piteously enough, cannot be there. This crisis is being met in the American Way. Larry McPhail has picked a committee of local doges, representative citizens of unimpeachable character, who have been given the grave responsibility of allotting the 35,000 tickets to the 100,000,000 Americans who want them. McPhail has been obliged to submit a solemn protocol to the Flatbush *sans culottes,* pledging that the Brooklyn Trust Co. will not get its customary block of tickets and that trusts and corporations generally will not be favored. The Dodgers are the people's champions. If McPhail attempted to pull anything funny with the ducats, his name would be coupled with Hitler to Rockaway tots, and with Murder, Inc., in Brownsville.

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I seem to see wonderful omens in this day of rejoicing in Brooklyn. A sublimation has been achieved. The Dodgers have vaulted Brooklyn into the ranks of sovereign cities and the gags about Brooklyn in *Arsenic and Old Lace* will seem pretty flat. It may be that Brooklyn girls will be able to get fellas in Manhattan and the Bronx without worrying whether the boys will balk at taking them all the way back home after the show. I seem to see buildings being erected and torn down and painted and new neon signs being put in place.

And the McPhail ticket committee gives a little token of what the Dodger zealots could be able to do about some baseball problems, specifically Jim Crow. If just one of those precise Brooklyn pop bottles would crease this menace on the noggin, the hollow sound could be heard as far away as St. Louis and Judge Landis would turn over in his grave, Brooklyn could put Negroes in the big leagues overnight, and if St. Louis didn't like it, Branch Rickey could be invited to flood his ball park and put in ice skating.

After the October mayhem Brooklyn can comfort itself with Seneca. "The four hundred Fabaie were not defeated; they were merely killed." I suspect that in its secret heart Brooklyn doesn't care so much about the series. Tonight the Dodgers are IN and the gates are closing on the bitter years. Now Flatbush guzzles the heady wine of victory. Take a few days to sober up, fellows. Then get over the wonderful nonsense. America needs that Dodger spirit turned on Hitler.

JAMES DUGAN.

"The Distant City"

Mr. Self demonstrates how not to write a play.

EARNESTNESS will never be a substitute for ability; and you could almost establish a mathematical proposition in those terms: that with ability lacking, the net results of endeavor become progressively worse as the earnestness increases. Take *The Distant City* for a horrible example.

The playwright, Edwin B. Self, apparently believes that if the poor people of the world would only pray, they would be answered in the end, and the devilish rich would be confounded. With this in mind Mr. Self has concocted a "play" about some *Tobacco Road* characters whose moronic son is framed for a murder he did not commit. It is the power of prayer that saves him, quite literally on cue. For his old mother (who has been a prostitute in her time) gets downstage center and delivers an impassioned plea to heaven, in her homely vernacular. Enter, immediately, the only eye-witness to the crime, the murderer's own mother. It's as bad as that.

Nay, it's worse, for the roster of Mr. Self's inadequacies would fill a text on How Not to Write a Play. His characters are stencils; his dialogue is puerile; his dramaturgy is absurd; his thinking is ludicrous. Attempting to arouse sympathy for the poor, he portrays them as lecherous, foul-mouthed morons.

Why Miss Gladys George chose this play in which to demonstrate her fair-to-middling talents as an actress, only Miss George can tell. For a moment she succeeded (playing a woman twice her age) in moving her audience. And it was a tribute to what talent she possesses. For with such material it was almost impossible for any actress to move an audience to anything but derision.

ALVAH BESSIE.

"Freedom's People"

Paul Robeson, W. C. Handy, Josh White and others in a new radio program.

JIM CROW haunts the radio studios, too. The color line is drawn on both sides of the microphone, giving Negroes little or no chance as either performers or non-broadcasting radio workers. Off the air, a few stations employ Negroes as page boys or in similar menial dead-end work. A handful of Negro actors are occasionally engaged for minor roles, usually as comical maids or flunkeys. As entertainers, they are relegated chiefly to clown parts, cast, as in the films, as stooges, like Jack Benny's "Rochester." Negro bands? A few of them do get air time, but not nearly enough.

There have been—and are—some exceptions. In the early days of chain broadcasting CBS had a splendid "John Henry" dramatic series. Currently the same network uses the Golden Gate Quartet, Joshua White, and picks up Count Basie and other performers from Cafe Society in New York. (Mutual also has some broadcasts from the same spot.) Mutual features Erskine Butterfield, a first-rate Negro swing pianist, in a weekly jam session with musicians from one of its house bands. NBC has "Wings Over Jordan," an amiable, Sunday morning religious series that is distinguished principally by some beautiful spiritual singing. And that's about all.

The few Negro programs that are brought to radio listeners are usually sustaining broadcasts, produced by the stations or networks themselves. Negroes have even less of a chance on commercial broadcasts. One of the accepted axioms of the advertising agencies (and the agencies control the program content of ninety-nine percent of all commercial broadcasts) is that Negro talent cannot be used to "sell"; so in the entire history of broadcasting, there have only been a couple of commercial radio series that featured Negroes. One of these was a show about seven years ago with Don Redman's band and the Mills Brothers; another was a short-lived program with Ethel Waters, that ended when southern stations of the network applied pressure on the home office and the advertiser (Dixie stations, incidentally, frequently pressure the networks' central office in New York against sustaining

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STATEMENT OF THE OWNERSHIP, MANAGEMENT, CIRCULATION, ETC., REQUIRED BY THE ACTS OF CONGRESS OF AUGUST 24, 1912, AND MARCH 3, 1933.

of NEW MASSES, published weekly at New York for Oct. 1, 1941, State of New York, County of New York, ss.

Before me, a notary public, in and for the State and county aforesaid, personally appeared S. A. Becker, who, having been duly sworn according to law, deposes and says that he is the business manager of the NEW MASSES, and that the following is, to the best of his knowledge and belief, a true statement of the ownership, management, etc., of the aforesaid publication for the date shown in the above caption, required by the Act of August 24, 1912, as amended by the Act of March 3, 1933, embodied in section 537, Postal Laws and Regulations, printed on the reverse of this form, to wit:

1. That the names and addresses of the publisher, editor, managing editor, and business managers are: Publisher, Weekly Masses Co., Inc., 461 Fourth Ave., New York City; editor, Joseph North, Croton-on-the-Hudson, New York; managing editor, H. S. Vinocur, 7547 113th Street, Forest Hills, New York; business manager, S. A. Becker, 88-11 63rd Drive, West Forest Hills, N. Y.

2. That the owner is: Weekly Masses Co., Inc., 461 Fourth Ave., New York City; S. A. Becker, 88-11 63rd Drive, West Forest Hills, New York, who holds stock in trust for the editorial board, which consists of A. B. Magil, Joseph North, S. A. Becker, Ruth McKenney, Barbara Giles, Richard Bransten, Joseph Starobin, and H. S. Vinocur.

3. That the known bondholders, mortgagees, and other security holders owning or holding 1 per cent or more of total amount of bonds, mortgages, or other securities are: None.

4. That the two paragraphs next above, giving the names of the owners, stockholders, and security holders, if any, contain not only the list of stockholders and security holders as they appear upon the books of the company but also, in cases where the stockholder or security holder appears upon the books of the company as trustee or in any other fiduciary relation, the name of the person or corporation for whom such trustee is acting, is given; also that the said two paragraphs contain statements embracing affiant's full knowledge and belief as to the circumstances and conditions under which stockholders and security holders who do not appear upon the books of the company as trustees, hold stock and securities in a capacity other than that of a bona fide owner; and this affiant has no reason to believe that any other person, association, or corporation has any interest direct or indirect in the said stock, bonds, or other securities than as so stated by him.

S. A. BECKER.

Sworn to and subscribed before me this 26th day of September, 1941.

[SEAL] MARTHA FISHER.

(My commission expires March 30, 1942.)

Negro programs). One advertiser who sponsors "Duffy's Tavern," a comedy variety show over CBS, is considered quite courageous by the radio trade because he now uses John Kirby's band for the orchestra spot on the program.

It takes no particular imagination to visualize what a genuinely fine radio series could be built, using all-Negro talent and using it in the best way, a series that would employ, for instance, such talent as Paul Robeson, Richard Wright, Canada Lee. In a radio setup that has tended more and more to settle down into rutted patterns, to use the same name and formulas year after year, such a program could bring new life, fresh voices; something more significant than "John's Other Wife" or "Grand Central Station." But nothing is done about it.

There is, however, one new program that is moving in the right direction. Several weeks ago NBC offered the first of "Freedom's People," a series sponsored by the US Office of Education and a committee representing various Negro and white organizations.

The first broadcast, which was designed to portray through music and drama the origins and evolution of Negro spirituals, ballads, and blues, was excellent. Irve Tunick wrote an effective and often poetic script. As narrator, Frank Wilson showed some of those stuffed shirt announcers how it should be done.

W. C. Handy was there to tell how he wrote "The St. Louis Blues." Joshua White was invited, and he strummed and sang the ballad of "John Henry." A delightful, if possibly apocryphal, sketch dramatized the origins of the spiritual "Steal Away to Jesus" in an incident of slave protest. And then, to climax the broadcast, Paul Robeson came to the microphone. He sang a rare Civil War song, "No More Auction Block for Me," and what was more important, injected a needed note into the program when he emphasized that "the promise of the Emancipation Proclamation must be realized."

In spots, the program was a little on the placid side, and tended toward understatement and what seemed to be a shying away from the present. It was Robeson who brought it down to today. Another Josh White song, possibly one of his "Chain Gang" laments or one of his "Southern Exposure" ballads would have helped to add bite to the broadcast.

Unfortunately, "Freedom's People" is going to be presented on an intermittent basis—"about once a month." Why? Ask NBC. It's an accepted fact in the broadcasting business that no program, no matter how effective, can build up a large audience unless it is presented at least on a regular weekly schedule. "Freedom's People" has demonstrated that it can get the talent and the material superior to the ordinary radio fare. Perhaps if enough listeners demand, they will be heard even in the high, cloistered offices of Radio City, and "Freedom's People" will get a once a week spot!

LLOYD E. TRENT.

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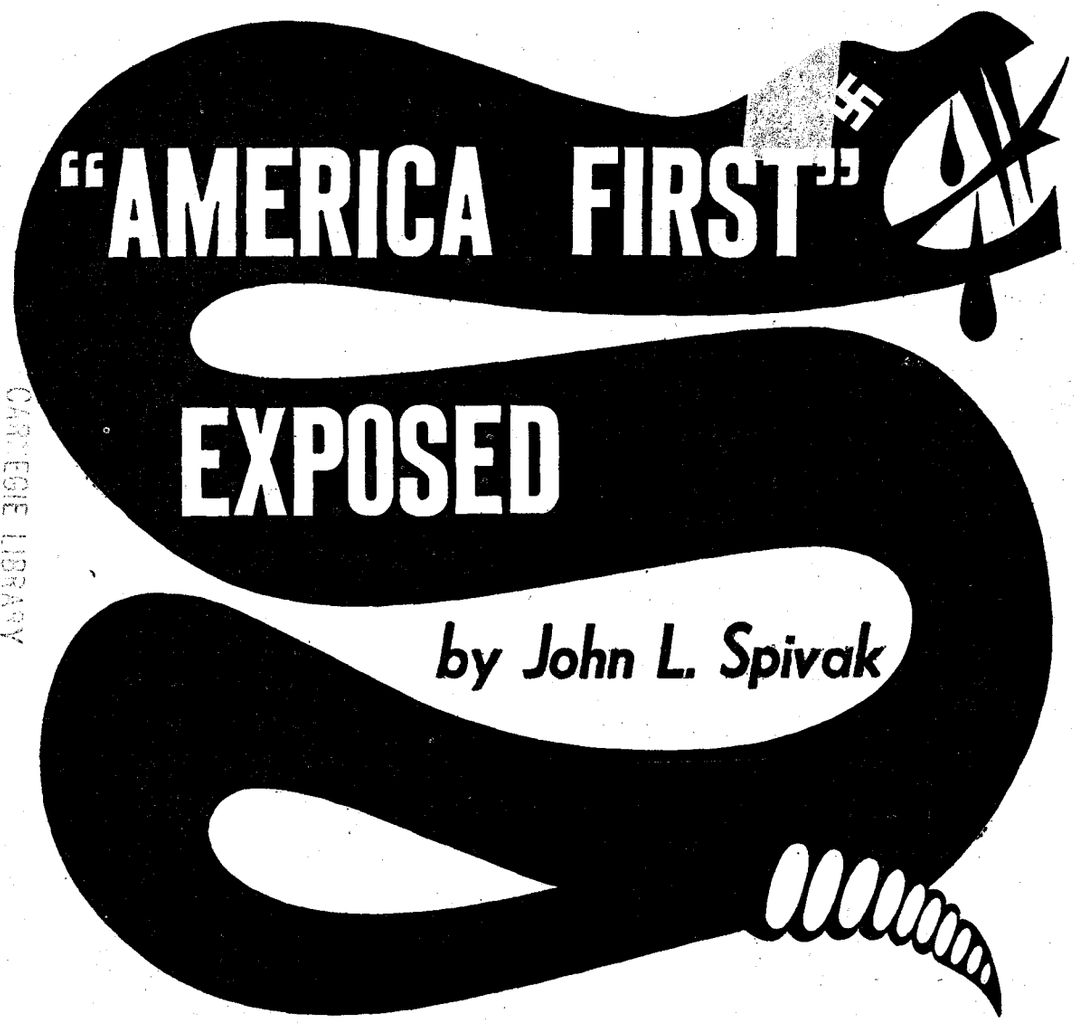

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